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THE HISTORY OF NEGRO SERVITUDE IN ILLINOIS

AND OF THE

SLAVERY AGITATION IN THAT STATE

1719-1864

BY

N. DWIGHT HARRIS, Ph.D.

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN LAWRENCE UNIVERSITY

CHICAGO

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TO MY FATHER

whose kindness has made possible my advanced studies

THIS BOOK

is affectionately dedicated

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INTRODUCTORY

THIS book was originally written for the University of Chicago, as a portion of the work required for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

In preparing the volume for publication it was thought unwise to sacrifice too largely the historic value of the production for popularity of form. It has been written, as far as possible, from the original documents and sources, but the present scattered state of the material on Illinois history has rendered this task extremely difficult.

It is hoped that the results of these investigations will not only be of interest to the general public, but also will serve as a basis for a great history of the Slavery Conflict, which some future historian of American History shall write.

The author wishes to express his appreciation of the suggestions and criticisms made by Dr. Asa C. Tilton of the University of Wisconsin, who read the entire manuscript. He acknowledges his indebtedness, also, to Professor Frederic J. Turner of the University of Wisconsin, President Edmund J. James of Northwestern University, and Professors F. W. Shepardson and J. Franklin Jameson of the University of Chicago, for their kindly interest and encouragement.

N. DWIGHT HARRIS.

Appleton, Wisconsin,
July, 1904.

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CHAPTER I.

THE BEGINNINGS OF SLAVERY IN THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY.

1719–1783.

The control of the French colony of La Louisiane was conferred upon Sieur Antoine Crozat on September 14, 1712. He was authorized at the same time to open a traffic in negroes with the coast of Guinea, provided slave labor was necessary for the development of the new country, and he was guaranteed a monopoly of the trade.[1]

M. Crozat failed to make use of his rights, and nothing came of the first suggestion of the French government concerning the introduction of slaves into Louisiana.

In August, 1717, the management of the colony was transferred from him to a commercial company, called the "Compagnie de l'Occident";[2] and the inauguration of the slave trade took place on June 6, 1719, when the first merchant ship arrived from Guinea with five hundred blacks on board. These negroes were destined for Lower Louisiana; i. e., the region between New Orleans and Natchez.[3]

In the same year Philip Francis Renault left France with two hundred miners and workmen to pursue the mining industry in Upper Louisiana under the protection of

[1] "Lettres Patentes du Roy, Données à Paris le 14 Septembre, 1712."

[2] "Lettres Patentes du Roy, Données à Paris au mois d'Août, 1717, Portant établissement d'une Compagnie de Commerce, sous le nom de Compagnie de l'Occident ou La Louisiane."

[3] For particulars concerning the beginning of the slave trade in Louisiana, see the Journal of La Harpe, in Vol. IV., page 119 and following, of French's Historical Collections of Louisiana.

the same organization. En route he stopped at San Domingo and purchased five hundred slaves. On reaching the continent, he proceeded to the northern portion of Louisiana—then known as the "Illinois Country"—and established himself near Fort Chartres, at a place which he named St. Philip. His venture, however, does not seem to have been a success, and in 1744 Renault sold his negroes to the inhabitants of the district and returned home.

Slaveholding was thus early introduced into the French settlements on the Upper Mississippi. During both the French and English occupancy of that region occasional additions were made to this nucleus, but they were neither frequent nor numerous.[1]

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the French had established five settlements in the alluvial district which, beginning at Kohokia,[2] extends along the east bank of the Mississippi to the mouth of the Kaskaskia River. These they named Kaskaskia, Kohokia, Fort Chartres, St. Philip, and Prairie du Rocher.[3]

M. Vivier, the French missionary to the Illinois Indians, thus describes this region in June, 1750: "We have here Whites, Negroes, and Indians, to say nothing of cross-breeds. . . . . There are five French villages and three villages of the natives within a space of twenty-one leagues. . . . . In the five French villages there are perhaps eleven hundred whites, three hundred blacks, and some sixty red slaves or savages. The three Illinois

[1] Dunn, in his "Indiana," on page 258, enumerates the following:
1722—A number of families with slaves were escorted up from New Orleans by Captain Renard.
1723—Some Germans were sent to Upper Louisiana by the Company of the West and granted negroes.

[2] Opposite and a little below St. Louis.

[3] For a detailed description, see "An Historical Narrative and topographical description of Louisiana and West Florida, comprehending the River Mississippi with its branches," by Thomas Hutchins, Philadelphia, 1784.

towns do not contain more than eight hundred souls [natives] all told."[1] It is seen by this that Indians, as well as negroes, were held in bondage.

Although the French king fixed the price of blacks at "660 livres India currency" in 1721, and issued at Versailles in March, 1724, under the title "Le Code Noir ou Recueil de Règlements,"[2] a severe system of rules, under which the slaves of Louisiana were to be held and managed, the Illinois settlements were not particularly affected. They were governed by a "major-commandant," residing at Fort Chartres, and appointed by the Governor of New Orleans; but the settlers managed their plantations quite as they pleased.

Slaves were regarded as "bien-foncier," or real property; but they were treated everywhere with much leniency and kindness. They were fed chiefly on maize, and used both as laborers and as house-servants. On Sundays and feast days they were allowed liberties, and their children were taught the catechism. There were few large slave farms. The majority of the planters possessed but a small number of negroes. A man was well off if he owned three or four. The management of the plantations was just and liberal, and the relations existing between masters and servants were friendly; but the easiest service was doubtless on the lands of the Jesuit missionaries.[3]

The condition of the negroes in the southern district of Louisiana, of which New Orleans was the centre, was wretched in the extreme. The "Code Noir" was rigidly enforced, the masters indifferent, the overseers often

[1] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 69, page 144.

[2] For an English translation, see Dillon's "Indiana," Vol. I., page 41.

[3] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 69, page 145, et seq.; Vol. 67, page 283; Vol. 70, pages 232, 233.

cruel, the district of country unhealthy, and the character of their work debilitating as well as degrading.[1]

When the Illinois Country passed into the hands of the English (1763), its total population was about three thousand. Of these a large proportion—about nine hundred —were negro slaves. General Thomas Gage gave the French the alternative of selling without restraint their estates and removing with their personal property, or of becoming English subjects.[2] A large number decided to leave, and disposed of their lands and slaves. Of these some went to New Orleans, but the majority crossed the river to St. Louis, St. Girardeau, and neighboring towns. The Jesuits departed for New Orleans with forty-eight negroes, whom they sold, and then returned to France.[3]

This decrease in population was attended by a corresponding decline in the prosperity of the region—already noticeable when Captain Philip Pittman visited it in 1770. He gives an interesting picture of the towns and plantations, and mentions, among others, M. Beauvais, who owned "240 arpens of cultivated land and eighty slaves," a captain of militia at St. Philip possessing twenty blacks, and M. Balet—the richest man in Illinois—who resided at St. Genevieve, and controlled "a hundred negroes, besides hired white people constantly employed." [4]

The population of the district had decreased at that time to about sixteen hundred inhabitants, of whom about

[1] For details on the condition of the negro slaves in Lower Louisiana at this time, see:
Dumont, "Memoirs de La Louisiane," 1753; "Vue de la Colonie Espagnole du Mississippi," 1803.
Robin, C. C., "Voyages dans l'Intérieur de La Louisiane," 1807.
La Harpe, Journal in Vols. III. and IV. of French's Historical Collections of Louisiana.

[2] Proclamation dated at New York, December 30, 1764.

[3] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 70, page 283.

[4] "The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi," by Captain P. Pittman, London, 1770.

six hundred were slaves. By the end of the century migration from the East and South had begun, whereby the population of the Illinois Country was considerably increased.

The English government laid no restrictions upon the holding of negroes as slaves by settlers of this region, and when it came under the control of the United States, slavery still existed there unhampered.

CHAPTER II.

SLAVERY IN THE TERRITORY.

1800–1818.

When Virginia ceded her claims on the Territory of the Northwest to the Government of the United States, she stipulated that the French, Canadian, and other inhabitants of Kaskaskia and the neighboring villages should be allowed to retain their possessions and to enjoy their ancient rights and liberties.[1] The continuance of these privileges was guaranteed by Congress in the Ordinance of 1787; but a clause prohibiting slavery in the district "Northwest of the river Ohio" was inserted in the same instrument.[2]

The residents of the Illinois Country were considerably disturbed by this latter provision, and many thought of moving across the Mississippi into Spanish territory. Governor St. Clair, however, chose to interpret the clause as intended only to prevent the introduction of slaves, and not as aiming at the emancipation of those already there; and the migration did not take place.[3] All doubts gradually disappeared; the view of the governor was universally accepted; and ere long the belief that article VI. of the Ordinance of 1787 in no way affected the existing relations between masters and servants became a settled conviction.

[1] Deed of Cession, March 1, 1784.

[2] Ordinance of 1787, articles II. and VI.

[3] St. Clair to the President of the United States; St. Clair Papers, Vol. II., page 176.

Governor Ninian Edwards—one of the most distinguished lawyers in the Territory—maintained in 1817 that the Ordinance of 1787 permitted "voluntary" servitude; i. e., the indenturing of negroes for limited periods of service. He advocated reducing the term to one year, and advanced the belief that such contracts were "reasonable within themselves, beneficial to the slaves, and not repugnant to the public interests."[1] Some of the less learned citizens advanced the argument, that since the French had obviously the right to retain their slaves the other settlers of Illinois possessed the same right.[2]

No reference was made to the subject of slavery in the first three General Assemblies of the Northwest Territory, other than the levying of a tax on all negroes over twenty-one years of age.[3]

By 1803, however, it was found necessary to provide some legal status for the numerous indentured blacks, and to regulate the relations between masters and servants. The Governing Council of Indiana proceeded to draw up a slave code, the chief material for which was obtained from the codes of Virginia and Kentucky. This set of laws was re-enacted, in the main, by the Indiana Territorial Assemblies of 1805 and 1807; and it was regarded as a legal authorization of the existing system of indentures.

Under the provisions of this code, all male negroes under fifteen years of age, either owned or acquired, must

[1] "Western Intelligencer," January 1, 1818. Speech to the Legislature.

[2] John Grammer of Union County is credited with having expressed himself in the Legislature a few years later, as follows: "I will show that are proposition is unconstitutionable, inlegal, and forninst the compact. Don't every one know, or leastwise had ought to know, that Congress that sot at Post Vinsan [Vincennes] garnisheed to the old French inhabitants the right to their niggars, and h'aint I got as much rights as any Frenchman in this State? Answer me that, sir!" Memoirs of Judge Gillespie.

[3] Statutes of Ohio, 1788-1833 (Chase), Vol. I., Chapter 3.

serve till the age of thirty-five; women till thirty-two. Children born to persons of color during the period of service could also be bound out—the boys for thirty years and the girls for twenty-eight. All slaves brought into the Territory were obliged to serve the full term of their contracts; but all owners were required to register their servants with the County Clerk within thirty days after entering the Territory. Transfers from one master to another were permitted, provided the slave gave his (or her) consent before a notary.[1]

Other provisions were added concerning the duties of masters to servants. Wholesome food, sufficient clothing, and lodging were to be provided for each slave. The outfit for a servant was enumerated as follows: "A coat, waistcoat, a pair of breeches, one pair of shoes, two pair of stockings, a hat, and a blanket."[2] Not an abundant supply surely, but it did well for a beginning. No provision was made for a future increase of wardrobe. Nor was there any penalty connected with a failure to provide the original outfit; and no evidence is obtainable that masters generally complied with this enactment, or troubled themselves greatly concerning the servants' food or clothing.

Lazy or indifferent servants might, on an order from the Justice of the County, be punished by whipping. It is not to be inferred from this that the owners always went through the form of procuring a license before proceeding to the punishment of refractory negroes. In those free and easy days, when the administration of justice and the enforcement of the laws were no easy

[1] Laws of the First General Assembly of the Territory of Indiana, 1805, Chapter 26.

[2] Laws of the Fourth Session of the Governor and Judges of Indiana Territory, Subdivision II., Sections 3 and 4.

matter, owing to the isolation of the various communities and the lack of efficient machinery for carrying out the decrees of Governors and Legislatures, the letter of the law was not always closely adhered to. The landowners were left unmolested in the management of their estates; and the question of the treatment of servants was very seldom if ever raised.

Negroes who refused to work or who tried to run away must serve two days extra time for every idle or absent day; and the expenses of recapture were to be worked out by the servant in extra service. Any person harboring a runaway slave must pay the master one dollar for each day that he concealed the negro. It was forbidden under severe penalty [1] to trade or deal with a servant without the consent of his master. Negroes or mulattoes might purchase servants, provided these were not white. They could retain all goods or money acquired by gift or other lawful means during their servitude, if their master gave consent; and they might obtain certificates of freedom from the county courts on presentation of proof that they had served out their time.[2]

An attempt was made to protect the servants from cruelty or unfair treatment on the part of the master. The county courts were to punish all owners guilty of ill-treatment of their slaves; but we are left in ignorance as to how the masters were to be proved guilty of this misdemeanor. It is to be inferred, however, that it was through the testimony of neighbors rather than by any complaint on the part of the negro, since the latter was forbidden to serve as a witness, save in cases where

[1] "Four times the value of the things sold; the costs, $20 for any one who sues; or 39 lashes well laid on his or her bare back."

[2] Acts of the Fourth Session of the Governor and Judges of Indiana Territory, 1803. Subdivision II., Sections 4–12. Acts of First Session of the General Assembly, Chapter 26.

colored people alone were concerned. It was provided further that "all contracts between master and servant during the time of service shall be void"; and masters who allowed any sick or lame negro to become a county charge were to be fined thirty dollars.[1]

Servants of color were not allowed to serve in the State militia,[2] to have bail when arrested,[3] to engage in unlawful assemblies, or to absent themselves from the plantation of their owner without a special pass or token.[4]

Finally, if any negro should refuse to serve his master when brought into Illinois, the owner might remove to any of the slave states with his property within sixty days.

The above code[5] was by no means a dead letter; for the evidence is ample to prove that an extensive system of indentured servants was carried on under its protection. During the decade following 1807, a large number of negroes were brought in and registered. In the four counties of Gallatin, St. Clair, Madison, and Randolph alone, there were over three hundred,[6] and the whole number of slaves in the Territory increased from one hundred and thirty-five in 1800, to seven hundred and forty-nine in 1820.[7]

[1] Acts of the First General Assembly of the Territory of Indiana, Chapter 26.

[2] Acts of the Third General Assembly of the Territory of Indiana, concerning militia, September 17, 1807.

[3] Acts of the Third General Assembly of the Territory of Indiana, concerning practice in the General Court.

[4] Acts of the Third General Assembly of the Territory of Indiana, Chapter 9, Sections 2-3.

[5] This was known in later years as the "Black Code." It appeared again in the Constitution of 1818, the Statutes at Large of 1818-1819, and the Constitution of 1848, and was not repealed till February 7, 1865.

[6] The precise number cannot be ascertained, since the Registers of St. Clair and Gallatin counties have not been preserved. The Registers of Madison and Randolph counties give a total of 253 actually registered; and from Wills, Bills of Sale, and County Court Records it is possible to enumerate at least 324 instances of indentured negroes in the four counties. Unfortunately the records of Jackson County were destroyed by fire on January 10, 1843, and its valuable Register of Slaves was also consumed.

[7] United States Census, 1800 and 1820.

The greater proportion of the negroes came from Kentucky and Tennessee, although numbers were brought also from Virginia, the Carolinas, Maryland, and even Louisiana.[1] A considerable number of these servants were registered to serve till the age limit fixed by law was reached. This meant from ten to twenty years in most cases, as the majority of negroes brought into the Territory were mere boys and girls.[2]

Most of the settlers owned slaves and were anxious to get as much service out of them as possible. Some, it is true, like Governor Coles, came into the state for the express purpose of freeing their negroes, but these were exceptions. The majority purchased slaves when very young in order to secure the longest legal terms of service. Not satisfied with that, they registered them for periods of servitude far in excess of the legal limit, many being booked to serve from forty to sixty, and even ninety-nine years.[3]

Ninian Edwards, the first Governor of the Territory, who knew the law well enough to register several slaves in strict accord with its provisions, felt quite free to enter his servants: Rose, twenty-three years of age, for thirty-

[1] Of 190 registered by the County Clerk of Randolph County, 81 came from Kentucky, 19 from Tennessee, 13 from Virginia, 13 from Louisiana, 5 each from the Carolinas and Maryland, 4 from Georgia, 4 from Missouri, a few scattering, and 36 former residence not given.

[2] For example, Benjamin Stephenson registered with the Clerk of Madison County, on June 15, 1817, six negro children: Moriah, 42 days old; Barkeley, 2 years; Debb, 4 years; Winn, 6 years; Frank, 8; and Louisa, 14 years old.

[3] Madison County Records:
1815, October 23, Sam, aged 15, bound to serve 50 years.
1816, May 31, Nat, aged 17, bound to serve 35 years.
1817, May 12, Willis, aged 16, bound to serve 50 years.
1818, May 12, Sarah, aged 19, bound to serve 90 years.
1818, June 29, Milly, aged 16, bound to serve 45 years.
1817, November 6, Peter, aged 17, bound to serve 99 years.
Randolph County Records and others:
1810, July 14, Maria, aged 15, bound to serve 45 years.
1811, March 8, Jean, aged 19, bound to serve 99 years.
1811, November 19, Duncley, aged 16, bound to serve 40 years.
1815, December 6, Rebecca, aged 16, bound to serve 40 years.

five years; Antony, forty years old, for fifteen years; Maria, fifteen years of age, for forty-five years; and Jesse, twenty-five years of age, for thirty-five years of service.[1]

The law was further evaded by registering the children of colored servants for thirty-five in place of thirty years of service on the ground that they were not born in Illinois. A case in point is Ninian Edward's Joseph, whom he registered at Kaskaskia on June 14, 1810, to serve thirty-five years. Joseph was then eighteen months old, and had just been brought into the Territory with his mother.[2]

All this the masters did knowingly, believing, quite rightly, that no one would take the trouble to prosecute them for holding their slaves to unlawful service. The ignorant negroes were deceived into believing that it was legal and just to bind themselves for such long periods. This deception was kept up until 1840; and one of the chief complaints of the slaveholders against the lawyers who later defended the negroes in the State Courts was, "You tell our slaves they are free."[3]

Transfers of colored servants were frequent. The consent of the servant being legally necessary, it was customary to secure it by a commutation of the term of servitude, as in the case of Jane, whom Hezekiah Davis of Jackson County sold in August, 1817, to Samuel Cochran, and whose term of service was shortened from fifty to forty years.[4] Judging from the bills of sale still extant, it is evident that this formality was frequently overlooked,

[1] County Clerk's Register Randolph County, June 8 and July 14, 1810, June 17, 1811.

[2] County Clerk's Register at Chester, June 14, 1810. Also St. Clair County Records under date of August 24, 1852.
Silvy, one month old, was also registered on October 11, 1816.

[3] Personal testimony of Nathaniel Niles, one of the leading antislavery lawyers in south-central Illinois before the war.

[4] See Appendix II.

and masters disposed of their property without consulting the wishes of the slaves themselves.

Negroes were also bequeathed by will and sold at auction[1] like any species of personal property. In making bequests some citizens evidently believed that they possessed their slaves, soul and body, for all time. The majority of these were French,[2] but some were men of genuine Southern pioneer stock.[3] Others, like Samuel Campbell and Benjamin West, although believing quite as firmly in the right of holding slaves, transferred to their descendants the "time" of their servants and made just stipulations for their freedom in the future.[4]

No attempt was made to conceal the traffic in slaves. Frequent notices of desirable negroes "for sale" and "wanted" appeared in the "Western Intelligencer" of Kaskaskia. The "Missouri Gazette," published at St. Louis, and enjoying a considerable circulation in Illinois, contained, from 1808 to 1820, many similar advertisements. The St. Louis Exchange and Land Office, owned by S. R. Wiggins, and dealing largely in slaves, not only advertised in the Illinois papers, but also had branch offices at Kaskaskia and Edwardsville.[5] It was easy, however, for the settlers of Southwestern Illinois to cross the Mississippi to St. Charles or St. Louis, and the inhabitants of Gallatin County to visit Kentucky, at any time to purchase slaves.

[1] Auction sales were advertised in the "Western Intelligencer," as, for example, on January 22, 1817, and January 13, 1818. Records of them are preserved also at some of the county-seats.

[2] See will of Michael Lacroix of Kohokia, probated in St. Clair County, June 22, 1848, but signed April 12, 1821.

[3] For example, Benjamin Keykendall of Gallatin County, who bequeathed to Polly Gatten, his negro boy David "to have and to hold as her own property from this time forth and forever." Gallatin County Will Record, March 31, 1814.

[4] Gallatin County Will Record, July 17, 1821.
St. Clair County Will Record, December 6, 1819.

[5] "Western Intelligencer," January 23 and February 4, 1818.

The lot of the indentured servant was not so pleasant but that he was glad to escape from it. The first numbers of the "Western Intelligencer" contain rewards offered for runaway slaves; and similar notices continued to appear until long after the Territory became a State.[1] Even at this early day, too, the practice of kidnapping had begun. Negroes whose terms of service were about to expire were seized, carried off to New Orleans and the South, and sold into a servitude more wretched than before. The Legislature laid the penalty of a thousand dollars fine on the abduction of a slave; but the practice continued unabated.[2]

Indentured servants were of course taxable property; and in two counties at least owners were taxed a dollar per year for each one held.[3] Their worth depended largely upon the length of their term of service still to run. One year's time of a negro was sold for one hundred dollars. The prices of boys and girls varied from three hundred to six hundred dollars, according to their physical qualifications and the period of servitude. They were used, moreover, as security for the payment of notes, or the fulfilment of contracts, and if men had no use for their servants themselves, they rented them out by the year to their neighbors.[4]

The commonest form of employment for the negroes

[1] They are to be found in the "Edwardsville Spectator" as late as 1829.

[2] "Western Spy" (published at Cincinnati) July 25, 1817. Articles on Kidnapping in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.
"Western Intelligencer," May 7, 1817, and "Edwardsville Spectator," August 14, 1819.

[3] These were Madison and Randolph.
Madison County, Records and Indentures, 1813-1818, Vol. I, page 12.
Randolph County, Records of Court of Common Pleas, Vols. I. and II., page 145.

[4] See especially cases in Madison County Records. Also Memorandum of transaction between Louis Kevkendall and John Cranshaw of Shawneetown concerning a note of $2,000, now in possession of Charles Carroll, Jr., of Shawneetown, and letter of Ninian Edwards to Colonel Wright, dated June 23, 1829, also in possession of Mr. Carroll.

was tilling the soil of the plantations, as the farms in Southern Illinois were then called; but they were also used in all kinds of household work, and served as waiters in the taverns, as dairymen, as shoemakers, as cooks, and as toilers in the salt mines.[1] The hiring of negroes for the last named industry, legalized by statute in 1814,[2] served as a pretext for the holding of slaves in other parts of the Territory.

"To roll a barrel of salt once a year or to put salt into a salt-cellar was sufficient excuse," says Governor Flower, "for any man to hire a slave and raise a field of corn."[3] This was not the only scheme resorted to in order to evade the laws. The word "servant" was used to cover a multitude of sins. No matter under what name the farmers held their negroes—whether as "servants," "yellow boys," or "colored girls"—the fact still remained that slavery existed in the Territory of Illinois as completely as in any of the Southern States. It was not limited to the settlements and towns along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, but was practised all over the southern portion of what is now the State of Illinois, and as far north as Sangamon County,[4] which was then just beginning to be settled.

[1] In this connection one should note the advertisements in the "Western Intelligencer" and "Edwardsville Spectator" during the years 1816-1819.

[2] Statutes of 1814, December 22, Act concerning Negroes and Mulattoes.

[3] George Flower, "History of the English Settlement of Edwards County," Chapter I.

[4] Records of Sangamon County Probate Court, Vol. B, pages 88-89, case of Benjamin Farmer, etc.

CHAPTER III.

SLAVERY AND THE CONSTITUTION OF 1818.

The situation in the years just previous to the forming of the first constitution of Illinois was a curious and interesting one. The majority of the population, other than the French, were recent emigrants from the Southern States—Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia furnished the greater proportion.[1]

Those from the first three mentioned States were the better and more enlightened class of Southerners. They were keen, intelligent men, progressive in spirit, but conservative by nature. Ever kindly and hospitable to strangers and friends, they became, when once aroused, bitter, passionate, and vindictive opponents in business or politics. Strong in their convictions and prejudices, persistent in the maintenance of existing ideals and institutions, they were the champions of justice, equity, and freedom of speech and action.

Some, like Reynolds, Edwards, Coles, and Breese, possessing great political and legal talents, rose to positions of importance in the State and Nation. The greater number were proslavery in their sympathies and ideals, although some, like Governor Coles, were strong antislavery men, and had come to Illinois on purpose to free their negroes.

[1] Records of Indentured Servants in Randolph and Madison Counties. John Woods, "Two Years' Residence in the Illinois Country," Pub. 1822. Geo. Flower, "History of the English Settlement of Edwards County."

LIBERTY LINE.

NEW ARRANGEMENT—NIGHT AND DAY.

The improved and splendid Locomotives, Clarkson and Lundy, with their trains fitted up in the best style of accommodation for passengers, will run their regular trips during the present season, between the borders of the Patriarchal Dominion and Libertyville, Upper Canada. Gentlemen and Ladies, who may wish to improve their health or circumstances, by a northern tour, are respectfully invited to give us their patronage.

SEATS FREE, *irrespective of color.*

Necessary Clothing furnished gratuitously to such as have "*fallen among thieves.*"

"Hide the outcasts—let the oppressed go free."—*Bible.*

☞For seats apply at any of the trap doors, or to the conductor of the train.

J. CROSS, *Proprietor.*

N. B. For the special benefit of Pro-Slavery Police Officers, an extra heavy wagon for Texas, will be furnished, whenever it may be necessary, in which they will be forwarded as dead freight, to the "Valley of Rascals," always at the risk of the owners.

☞Extra Overcoats provided for such of them as are afflicted with protracted *chilly-phobia.*

FAC-SIMILE OF UNDERGROUND RAILWAY ADVERTISEMENT

(*From "The Western Citizen," July 13, 1844*)

The majority of those who had migrated to the Territory from Georgia and the Carolinas belonged to that class now usually designated as "poor whites." They were ignorant, shiftless, and obstinate. To secure their ends they were often unscrupulous and dishonest. The times were hard, and the ways and means of earning a livelihood extremely limited. In the struggle for existence these Georgians had little use for soft measures, but sought success by hook or crook, with little regard for persons or principles. On the subject of slavery they retained the ideas and prejudices of their youth. They were opposed to the presence of the free negro, and clung with great persistence to their "colored servants." Some would have liked to have Illinois a slave State, and all possessed a strong antipathy for the settlers from the East, whom they designated as "Yankees."

All classes of Illinoisans were strong believers in the personal rights and liberties, guaranteed to all citizens by the Constitution of the United States. Every man was a politician, intensely interested in all questions relating to the welfare and development of the State. Three weeks' residence qualified one to vote.[1] There were no organized political parties, and the citizens simply took sides on the leading questions of the day, such as the opening up of the new Territorial lands, the formation of a judiciary, the Indian problem, internal improvements, and the establishment of a State bank.[2] The contests were between men rather than measures. Each candidate placed himself in nomination—usually through the medium of the newspapers—and ran chiefly on his own merits.

The slavery question came into prominence as a politi-

[1] "Illinois Intelligencer," September 2, 1818, Editorial. The Constitution of 1818 made six months' residence a prerequisite of citizenship.

[2] See the "Western Intelligencer" during the years 1816–17.

cal issue as early as December, 1817.[1] It first appeared in connection with the framing of the Constitution of 1818. The holders of colored servants felt reasonably secure in the possession of their property because of the Territorial legislation[2] supporting the indenture system and of the publicly expressed opinions of Governors St. Clair and Ninian Edwards.[3] Yet, as the time for the drawing up of the State Constitution drew near, the pro-indenture advocates began to lose confidence in the legal strength of their position.

It was seen that in order to secure the admission of Illinois into the Union, its constitution must express itself against slavery—nominally at least. This the proslavery leaders determined should be done. At the same time they believed that the new State Legislature could, if it so desired, legally reënact later all of the old Territorial code of "Black Laws." In order not to arouse public suspicion, great secrecy was observed concerning their plans and ultimate object.

The Constitutional Convention was to meet at Kaskaskia in August, 1818. As early as April 1st, articles discussing the advisability of making Illinois a slave State, and vice versa, began to appear in the "Western Intelligencer."[4] After the 17th of June there was scarcely an edition that did not contain one or more communications on the subject.

[1] See the report on the debate in the Legislature concerning the repeal of the act admitting negroes and mulattoes into the Territory, in the "Western Intelligencer," for December 18, 1817. Also Governor Coles's letter to the Rev. Thos. Lippencott on this point, published by Lippencott in the "Alton Telegraph," February 24, 1865, in which Coles says (after denying Mr. Lippencott's statement in his "Reminiscences," that the slavery question was probably not agitated before the Constitution Convention of 1818): "On the contrary, at a very early period in the settlement of Illinois, the question was warmly agitated by zealous advocates and opponents of slavery."

[2] Described in Chapter II.

[3] See above, pages 12, 13.

[4] "Western Intelligencer," April 1, 1817, article entitled "Slavery," and signed "A Republican."

The main arguments advanced in favor of slavery were: that it would tend to increase the tide of emigration from the Southern States towards Illinois, and thereby to promote the speedy settlement and improvement of the country; that slave labor was necessary to the opening up of the new lands; that the liability of slave insurrections was less when the negroes were distributed over the nation; and that, to provide the colored people with a partial escape from the servitude of the South by the possibility of a transfer to the lighter indenture system of Illinois, would be an inestimable blessing to the race.[1]

All this was refuted with considerable force and skill by the antislavery supporters, who maintained that slavery was a great social and economic, as well as moral, evil; and that its perpetuation in Illinois would impede rather than advance the progress of the new State.

Several compromises were suggested, but only one was practical. This appeared in an article signed "Pacificus" and addressed to the "Honorable Members of the Convention of the Illinois Territory." It advocated the incorporation of the existing indenture system in the new constitution, provided the term of service were made forty years, the slaves were instructed in religion and the rudiments of education, and that a general emancipation should occur on January 1, 1860.[2] This proposal met with little acceptance, partly because "Pacificus" was in advance of his times, and partly because of the opposition to long term indentures, then becoming general.[3]

[1] "Western Intelligencer," April 1, June 17, July 1, 2, and 22, etc. "A Friend to Inquiry" exclaims (July 22), "And would it not be a proud triumph to our posterity, after the business of universal emancipation shall have been effected, in tracing the effect to the cause, to find its origin in the benevolent policy of our Territory?"

[2] Published in the "Western Intelligencer," August 12, 1818.

[3] This is shown by the fact that the Constitution of 1818 reduced the time limit of indentures from thirty-five to twenty-one years. Ninian Edwards expressed himself strongly in favor of *one* year.

The election of delegates to the convention occurred early in July. The votes were all given *viva voce;* and there was but one polling place in each county. Although no organized political parties existed, the majority of the candidates were either professed opponents or well-known advocates of slavery. Some, like Mr. Elisha Kane, of Randolph County, tried to evade the direct issue.[1]

The constitutional convention met on the 3d of August, and completed its work on the 26th of the same month. Thirty-three delegates were present, representing fifteen counties. Among the prominent members were Jesse B. Thomas, E. K. Kane, Hezekiah West, and James Hall. Unfortunately the minutes of the convention have been lost, and the greater part of the records and newspapers of the time have disappeared. So it is extremely difficult to determine the real attitude of the various delegates regarding the slavery question.[2]

Mr. W. Kitchell[3] informs us in the "Illinois Republican," of June 30, 1824, that there were "twenty-one members against the introduction of slavery and twelve in favor of it." This should be interpreted to mean, that there were twenty-one delegates opposed to putting any article in the Constitution of 1818 that should legalize slavery in Illinois, and twelve who favored the introduction of such an article.

There was no distinct division into proslavery and antislavery parties, as these terms are generally used. The

[1] George Churchill's "Annotations," No. 7, in the "Alton Telegraph," May 12, 1865.

[2] Even if a copy of the Journal of this Convention were in existence, it is still questionable whether it would determine for us the exact position of the parties on the slavery question. Mr. Churchill—a keen observer and one thoroughly acquainted with the history of this period—says that he once possessed a copy of this journal, but was not able to make out from it the position of the parties. "Annotations" No. 7, "Alton Telegraph," May 19, 1865.

[3] Mr. Kitchell was a near relative of Joseph Kitchell, a delegate to the Convention from Crawford County.

vote was decided more by policy than by principle; but it is possible to distinguish three classes of men in the convention of 1818. First, there were those who desired an out and out proslavery Constitution; second, those who, opposed to slavery in any form, wished an entirely free Constitution; and third, a set of "compromisists" who preferred to maintain as far as possible the existing system of indentures, while at the same time giving to the State the semblance of a free Constitution.[1] These last seem to have been numerically the strongest, for they succeeded in having their policy adopted. This they accomplished by securing the adherence of the men opposed to slavery solely on economic grounds,[2] of those who feared that Congress would reject the Constitution if it contained a distinct provision admitting slavery, and finally, of those opposed to slavery on principle, who accepted the compromise in lieu of anything better.

This state of affairs in the convention does not seem to have been clearly understood at the time by outsiders. The general impression was that a strong movement—one likely to succeed—was being made to secure a Constitution favorable to slavery.

It was to prevent this that thirteen of the prominent men of St. Clair, Madison, Monroe, and Washington counties issued an "Address to the friends of Freedom in

[1] The leader of the convention and champion of this compromise party was Mr. E. K. Kane, later United States Senator. He has been classed as a proslavery man, but during the whole period from the election to this convention till the vote "for" or "against" a State convention in 1824, he played the part of an astute politician who wished to secure the favor and support of both sides. He held slaves, however, and was possessed in the main of proslavery sentiments. Records of County Clerk, Randolph County, where Mr. Kane's slaves were registered, and newspapers of period, especially the "Edwardsville Spectator."

[2] George Churchill's "Annotations," No. 7, "Alton Telegraph," May 12, 1865. Churchill says he refused to vote for one of the antislavery candidates as a delegate to this convention, because he (the candidate) said he believed slavery would be an advantage to the State.

the State of Illinois,"[1] in which they declared that "strong exertions will be made in the convention to give sanction to that deplorable evil in our State," and earnestly solicited "all true friends of freedom in every section of the Territory to unite in opposing it both by the election of a delegate to Congress who will oppose it and by forming meetings and preparing remonstrances to Congress against it."[2]

The "compromisists" were, however, completely successful, as is well shown by Article VI. of the Constitution of 1818, which embodies the work and the attitude of the convention on this subject. The first section reads as follows: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall hereafter be introduced into this State otherwise than for the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted. Nor shall any male person arrived at the age of twenty-one years, nor any female person arrived at the age of eighteen years, be held to serve any person as a servant under any indenture hereafter made, unless such person shall enter into such indenture while in a state of perfect freedom, and on condition that a *bona fide* consideration received or to be received for their service.[3] Nor shall any indenture of any negro or mulatto hereafter made and executed out of this State, or if made in this State, where the term of service exceeds one year, be of the least validity, except those given in case of apprenticeship."[4]

In the second section it is provided that slaves bound in other States shall not be hired for service in Illinois, except (until the year 1825) within the district of the salt

[1] "Illinois Intelligencer," August 5, 1818.
[2] Nothing further ever came of it however.
[3] This might easily be a promise of board and clothes merely.
[4] Constitution of 1818, Art. VI., Sec. 1.

works near Shawneetown. Such contracts were limited to one year, but were renewable. The third section provided that all contracts and indentures made before 1818 should be enforced, and all negroes and mulattoes should serve out the full term of years for which they had been bound under the Territorial laws. Children of indentured servants were to become free, males at twenty-one years of age, and females at eighteen.[1]

All this, with a few modifications, was a confirmation of the existing system. The poor negroes who were already indentured did not have their service lessened by a day. The limit of age at which colored people might be indentured was reduced from thirty-five years in case of males, and thirty-two in case of females, to twenty-one years and eighteen years respectively. This was a slight advance.

The limiting of indentures to one year's service and making them apparently optional with the negro was supposed to have practically transformed the slavery in Illinois into a pleasant sort of personal service. But it did not work out that way. Nor is it likely that the majority of the framers of this article thought that it would do so. It was too easy to force the negroes annually into a renewal of their indentures and the majority of the slaveholders were too anxious to retain all their property rights and the advantages of the preëxisting system of indentures, to allow such loosely defined regulations to hamper them much in the management of their colored servants. In fact, they seem never to have seriously entertained for a moment any intention of giving up the old system of indentures, to judge from the laws enacted the following March (1819) "concerning negroes and mulattoes."

[1] Constitution of 1818, Art. VI, Sec. 2.

These comprised the greater number of the Territorial "Black Laws," including the right of sale or transfer of a contract or indenture from one master to another. In addition, negroes were forbidden to settle or reside in the State without a certificate of freedom; and it was made unlawful to bring in slaves for the purpose of emancipating them.[1]

Still the one year limit placed on all the new contracts for service was an effectual check upon the bringing in of negroes and indenturing them for long periods of servitude. By April, 1819,[2] this custom seems to have been largely given up. At least there are no records of registrations of indentures after that date. This was greatly aided by the increasing revulsion in public opinion against the practice discountenanced by the new Constitution.

There was considerable uncertainty as to whether Congress would admit Illinois under this Constitution of 1818 or not. The first legislature of the State met early in October, 1818, and proceeded to the election of United States Senators, and of chief and associate justices for Illinois, and to the confirming of the appointments to the Governor's cabinet. When this little business had been transacted they adjourned, requesting the Governor to call them together again when he should have ascertained that Congress had admitted the State into the Union.[3] It is evident from this unusual action that the Legislature was very much in doubt as to the actual outcome of the Congressional deliberations in the matter.

[1] Act respecting Free Negroes, Sec. 3, Laws of Illinois, 1819, March 30, 2d Session.

[2] Randolph and Madison County Indenture Registers. The last slave registered in Madison County was David, servant of G. Pattisson, whose name was inscribed on April 10, 1819.

[3] 1st Volume of Session Laws of Illinois Legislature.
Geo. Churchill, "Annotations," No. 7, in "Alton Telegraph," for May 12, 1865.
"Illinois Intelligencer," October 14 and 21, 1818.

The question of slavery seems to have been the vital point. On November 23, 1818, the report of the committee [1] favoring the admission of Illinois was read in the House for the third time. Mr. Talmadge rose in opposition, "upon the ground that the Constitution was not sufficiently conclusive in the rejection of slavery," the article in that instrument respecting slaves being of itself alone, in his opinion, sufficient to render the whole inadmissible. Mr. Poindexter, of Mississippi, took the lead in favoring the admission. He thought the measure relative to slavery "fraught with utility" and "an excellent safeguard to the negro." While slavery was an evil in his eyes, he nevertheless did not believe general emancipation a thing possible to obtain; and the provision in the Constitution of Illinois relative to the negroes seemed to be well suited to the condition of things in that locality.

Mr. Harrison, of Ohio, supported Mr. Poindexter. He maintained that the "compact," as he called it, of 1789, had no reference to the slaves already held in the Northwest Territory. He regretted that the people of Illinois had not freed their slaves as the citizens of Indiana had done; but since her people had the sovereign right to do as they chose with their own negroes, he did not think the State should be excluded on a mere technicality.

The discussion was soon ended and a vote taken, which resulted in the passage of the bill by 117 ballots for and only 34 against. The Senate approved the bill without discussion on December 1, and Illinois became a State.[2]

By this ready acceptance of the Constitution of Illinois, Congress showed its approval of the theory advanced by

[1] Mr. Anderson, of Kentucky, was chairman.

[2] "Annals of Congress," Vol. III., pp. 32 and 312.
"Debates in Congress," Vol. I., pp. 204–7.
"Illinois Inteligencer," December 23, 1818.

Governor St. Clair and General Harrison, that the Ordinance of 1789 did not apply to negroes already held as slaves in the Northwest at the time when it was enacted.

The labors of the compromise party in Illinois were thus crowned with success. The State was admitted, and the right to retain negroes as "indentured servants" was recognized and secured.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CONTEST FOR A CONVENTION.

1820–1824.

The question of the admission of Missouri into the Union was debated for the first time in Congress during the winter of 1818 to 1819.[1] The people of Illinois took a lively interest in the matter. Many were outspoken in opposition to the formation of another slave State on their border; and the Illinois Senators and Representatives in Congress were severely censured because they voted against the prohibition of slavery in Missouri. In August, 1819, Mr. Daniel P. Cook was elected Representative, largely because his opposition to slavery was well known.[2]

This attitude of the people of Illinois on the Missouri question, the indirect efforts of many of her citizens to prevent the admission of that Territory as a slave State, and the able antislavery speeches of Daniel P. Cook in the House of Representatives during the following winter, drew upon the Illinoisans the bitter animosity of the slaveholders of Missouri.

So deeply did the Missourians feel that they and their cause had been injured by the attitude of the Illinoisans that they determined upon retaliation. The remark was commonly heard in Washington circles during the winter

[1] Missouri petitioned the House on March 18, 1818, and in February, 1819, the House went into a Committee of the Whole to discuss the question.

[2] Mr. Cook's majority was 633. Official records at Springfield; also the "Edwardsville Spectator," September 25, 1819.

of 1819–1820 that "it would be doing nothing more than justice to Illinois to create a reaction by engaging their side of the river in a contest at home, which would prevent them from so particularly interesting themselves in our concerns."[1]

Those Missourians and other Southern leaders desirous of striking a blow at the "Yankees" of Illinois, found ready sympathizers among the holders of indentured negroes in Illinois, who were anxious to introduce into their State an unlimited indenture system, or better, unrestricted slavery. A scheme was soon agreed upon by which an attempt should be made to secure a slave constitution for Illinois through the calling of a general convention for the purpose of revising the existing Constitution.

Because of the numerical superiority of settlers of Southern birth, it was believed that one needed only to establish a proslavery newspaper at Edwardsville to set such a movement in operation.[2] It was agreed to support the candidacy of Mr. Elias Kane—then a nominee for Representative to Congress, and a well-known proslavery sympathizer—and to establish General Joseph M. Street as the editor of a new paper at Edwardsville, that should advocate the introduction of slavery into Illinois. The "Illinois Gazette," of Shawneetown, was to be purchased, and if possible, the support of the other newspapers of the State was to be secured for their cause. As soon as the conditions were deemed favorable it was determined that an attempt should be made to secure a vote in the

[1] Letter of a St. Louis gentleman who was in Washington during the winter of 1819-20, to Ninian Edwards, and published by him in the "Edwardsville Spectator," on July 25, 1820. A letter of the Rev. J. M. Peck published in the "Free West" on May 3, 1855, and written as comment on Mr. Warren's "Reminiscences," confirms this also.

[2] Letter to Ninian Edwards, dated at St. Louis, June 27, 1820, and printed in the "Edwardsville Spectator" on July 25.

Legislature for the calling of a convention to revise the State Constitution.[1]

Unfortunately for the conspirators, Mr. Hooper Warren, editor of the "Edwardsville Spectator," and a staunch opponent of slavery, became cognizant of their plans. He exposed the whole plot in an editorial on July 11, 1820, laying special emphasis on the significant fact that a determined effort to force a slave constitution upon the people of Illinois would be made within the next two or three years.

Mr. Kane answered this editorial in a personal letter to the "Illinois Intelligencer," dated July 13, 1820. He denied he had been nominated by the "old slave party," denounced the "scheme to introduce slavery" as a combination that had never been thought of, and attributed the authorship of such an idea, not to the editor of the "Spectator," but to "the juggler behind the scenes."[2] This stout denial of all connection with the so-called slavery plot brought out within the next few weeks extended and very convincing testimony on this point from various leading men in the State, chief among whom was Ninian Edwards—the "juggler behind the scenes."

It was well established in this discussion that, although Mr. Kane might not have been personally connected with this scheme, he must have known of its existence, and must have been well aware that he would have the sup-

[1] "Edwardsville Spectator" July 11, 1820, and the various letters published in the "Spectator" and the "Illinois Intelligencer" during the next three weeks.

[2] "Illinois Intelligencer," July 18, 1820. Ninian Edwards and Hooper Warren have both testified that Mr. Edwards had nothing to do with the exposure of the plot in the "Spectator" on July 11. See the "Spectator" for July 25 and August 1, 1820. Mr. Warren, in an editorial on Reminiscences in the "Free West" for May 3, 1855, says that Kane issued a furious handbill charging Governor Edwards with having written the article in question. When Mr. Edwards heard of it, he said "Stand your ground, Warren. I will answer Kane over my own name."

port of the proslavery element in his candidacy for the office of Representative.[1]

Through the remainder of the short campaign of 1820, Mr. Kane continued to receive the support of the proslavery papers and leaders, and was generally regarded as the representative of the proslavery party.[2] His opponent was Mr. Daniel P. Cook, a man of strong antislavery principles, who had, by his superior abilities and capacity for work, earned an enviable reputation during the previous winter at Washington. He was sustained by the antislavery element and re-elected Representative on August 7, by the large majority of thirteen hundred and twenty-three.[3]

After this defeat the proslavery leaders decided to postpone the execution of their plans for two years, in order to give time for the allaying of the popular excitement caused by the exposure of their plans, and to afford ample opportunity for the strengthening of their forces and the maturing of their designs. Mr. Warren's warning was soon forgotten. Some of his friends even thought him premature and visionary; but later events have proved the truth of his prediction.[4]

In 1822 a Governor, a Representative to Congress, and a new State Legislature were to be elected. Although there were four candidates for the gubernatorial chair, the real contest lay between Edward Coles, a strong antislavery man, who had come to the State from Virginia three years before, and Joseph Phillips, who

[1] Letters and communications in the "Spectator" on July 11, 18, 25, and August 1, 8, and 29, 1820.

[2] See the "Illinois Intelligencer" and the "Spectator" for July and August.

[3] Official returns as given in records at Springfield. The "Spectator" gives Mr. Cook's majority as 3,036.

[4] G. Lippencott, in "Early Days in Madison County," printed in the "Alton Telegraph" for March 10, 1865.
Warren's "Reminiscences," in the "Free West," May 3, 1855.

was Chief Justice of Illinois and proslavery in his sympathies.[1]

There was no definite organization into proslavery and antislavery parties; yet that question was made a prominent issue in the campaign. The papers of the day, especially the "Spectator," are full of letters and communications referring to the position of the leading candidates on this subject. Articles attacking Judge Phillips for his proslavery tendencies, and accusing him of being connected with the party desiring the introduction of slavery into Illinois, were especially numerous.[2]

After an exciting contest Mr. Coles was elected by a small plurality of forty-six votes.[3] At the same time Mr. Daniel P. Cook was again elected Representative over a proslavery opponent, Mr. John McLean,[4] but in the elections for the State Legislature a majority of the proslavery candidates secured seats.[5]

Mr. Warren had warned the people repeatedly in the "Spectator" that a movement was on foot to call a constitutional convention, and that the only way to preclude such an event was to see to it that men of professed antislavery sentiments were in the majority at the next meeting of the Legislature. One of the proslavery newspapers—the "Illinois Gazette"—had even boldly announced that "exertions are making in the lower section of this State for the purpose of introducing slavery into Illinois."[6] Little if any heed was given to these warnings. The

[1] The other candidates were Thomas C. Brown, an Associate Judge, and Major General James B. Moore.

[2] "Illinois Intelligencer," "Star of the West" (only few issues extant), and the "Spectator" from April 10 to August 24, 1822.

[3] Official returns, as given in "Spectator" for December 7.

[4] Official records give Mr. Cook's majority as 874.

[5] See the returns in the records at Springfield and the vote of the Legislature on the Convention question as given in Appendix IV.

[6] Issue of April 6, 1822.

people seem to have been indifferent or unsuspicious, refusing generally to believe that any such scheme had ever been really seriously thought of; and no real effort was made, except in a few communities, to secure the election of antislavery men.

The legislature had not been in session many days before it was evident that the proslavery men had their plans well matured. In his inaugural address, on December 5, 1822, Mr. Coles made an urgent request for the repeal of the so-called "Black Laws" and for legislation that would prove effective in preventing the kidnapping of free negroes within the State. Committees were appointed immediately, both in the Senate and in the House, to consider these reforms. The Senate committee admitted its inability to solve these problems, asserting that there was "no other source of remedying the evils mentioned by the Governor than by calling a convention to alter the Constitution." In the House a second committee ultimately produced a series of laws calculated to prevent kidnapping and to remove the abuses of the indenture system, only to have them tabled. Thus every attempt to revise the existing laws on the holding of slaves failed completely in both Houses.[1]

One of the most important questions in the early days of this session was the contested election of the Representative from Pike County. The rival candidates in the August election of that county were Nicholas Hansen and John Shaw. Mr. Hansen was a young lawyer of moderate abilities, but well educated and honest, who had opened a land office in Edwardsville in 1819,[2] but later

[1] House and Senate Journals for December 1822. Also the reports of the Governor's speech and action of Legislature in the "Spectator" during the same month.

[2] Advertised in the first number of the "Edwardsville Spectator," May 29, 1819, and for a little over a year thereafter.

had been appointed Probate Judge for Pike County. John Shaw was a clever politician who possessed little education, but through business ability and clever manipulation had secured a controlling influence in the affairs of his county.[1]

There were but three polling places in Pike County, the most important of which was located at the county-seat, Colesgrove. On the day of the election Mr. Shaw averred there was an illegality in the appointment of some of the judges of election, and set up a second polling place in Colesgrove. Mr. James Whitney,[2] the Clerk of the County, rejected the returns from this unauthorized polling place, and gave the certificate of election to Mr. Hansen. The legality of Mr. Hansen's election was further sustained by certificates of two justices of the peace and by the written testimonials of Chief Justice Reynolds and several prominent lawyers.[3]

On December 4—the day following the organization of the House for business—the papers relating to the contested election of Mr. Hansen were taken up and read in part. Mr. Shaw was admitted within the bar of the House, and after having been approved by the committee on elections and discussed in the "Committee of the Whole" throughout the good part of one day, the election

[1] For additional particulars see:
Mr. Lippencott's letters to the "Alton Telegraph," beginning March 3, 1865, and entitled "Early Days in Madison County."
Mr. Churchill's "Annotations," No. 9, in the "Alton Telegraph" for May 10, 1865.
Mr. Shaw's "Autobiography" in Reports of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Vol. II.
Mr. Brown's "Historical Sketch of the Early Movement in Illinois for Slavery."

[2] Whom Mr. Warren describes as an "honest, good sort of man."

[3] For the contest in Pike County see "Spectator" editorial in issue of February 15, 1823.
Hansen's account, letter in the "Spectator," March 29, 1823.
Shaw's account, letter in the "Spectator," December 13.
Lippencott's "Early Days in Madison County," in "Alton Telegraph" March 17, 1865.
Churchill's "Annotations," in "Alton Telegraph," May 10, 1865.

of Mr. Hansen was confirmed, on December 9, by a vote of twenty to fourteen.[1]

The question seems to have been decided entirely upon its merits, irrespective of party considerations. A review of the vote shows that Mr. Hansen was sustained by both "Conventionists" and "Anticonventionists," while men of both of these factions opposed his being seated.[2] And as Mr. Washburne suggests, "The fact of the unanimity of the committee [on elections] is good evidence that it was not a party question."[3]

The Senate committee on the reforming of the "Black Laws" had proposed in December a resolution calling for a constitutional convention. This was laid on the table[4] in order to delay voting until there should be present the requisite two-thirds majority in favor of such a convention. Time, too, was needed to organize and consolidate the convention forces in both Houses. There were two distinct groups of men favoring a convention, which must be united. One section desired a constitutional assembly for the purpose of introducing slavery, and the other in order to make certain needed constitutional reforms.[5]

It was generally understood that, as soon as John Grammer of Union County should arrive, there would be a majority in the Senate in favor of a convention. His coming was uncertain, and not expected by some. At

[1] House Journal of 1822-1823, page 11; see Appendix, III.

[2] House Journal, pages 46, 47.

[3] "Sketch of Governor Coles," page 80. This has even more force when it is remembered that all the members of this committee were proslavery men who, if any party questions had been involved, would not have hesitated in approving Mr. Shaw's credentials rather than Mr. Hansen's. It is affirmed by Mr. Ford and Mr. Reynolds in their histories that Mr. Hansen was given the seat to secure his vote for Jesse B. Thomas as Senator. There is no evidence that this was true. Both candidates were "convention" men, and Mr. Thomas was elected Senator by a substantial vote. Senate Journal, page 198.

[4] Senate Journal, page 28.

[5] Mr. Coles's letter to Nicholas Biddle, April 22, 1823, in Washburne's "Coles," page 147.
Mr. E. J. West's letter to the "Spectator" in issue of July 12, 1823.

length, on Friday, February 7, 1823, he arrived, was sworn in, and took his seat.[1] On Monday, February 10, the December Resolution calling for a constitutional convention was taken up from the table and passed by a vote of twelve yeas to six nays.[2] Mr. Thomas Lippencott, the Secretary of the Senate, reported the passage of the resolution to the House the same day.[3]

The conventionist leaders in the House were now nearly ready for a decisive vote. They had been industriously agitating the matter since the first days of the session. Several test votes on the subject had been taken to ascertain the relative strength of the contending forces, notably on January 27, when the resolution in favor of calling a convention failed of passing by only two votes.[4]

It was therefore imperative to gain two more votes, and no stone was left unturned to win over some of the members of the opposition. All other interests fell momentarily into the background while the question of a convention occupied the thoughts of all. The excitement increased. The proslavery element was determined to win at any cost, and adopted for its motto, "The Convention or Death." Promises, alluring inducements, and even threats were freely indulged in. Numbers of "lobby members" from Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and our own State hung about the corridors and anterooms, stimulating popular sentiment in favor of the introduction of slavery.

News of the contest spread over the State, and instructions began to pour in upon the members. At length Mr. Ratten, of Green County, announced that he was authorized by his constituents to vote for the convention. Mr.

[1] Senate Journal, page 28.
[2] Senate Journal, page 30.
[3] House Journal of 1823, page 424.
[4] House Journal of 1823, pages 286, 287.

McFatridge, of Johnson County, was won over by the promise to remove the county seat of that county from Vienna to Bloomfield.[1] Success now seemed assured. The proslavery men were jubilant.

On February 11, the convention resolution of the Senate was taken up in the House and put to vote. The result astonished every one. The returns showed twenty-three for and thirteen against the resolution; it had therefore failed to pass by one vote. Some one had changed sides at the last moment. On reading the names it was seen at once to have been Mr. Hansen, of Pike County.[2]

The rage and indignation of the conventionists knew no bounds. Hansen was assailed from all sides. His action was not understood at the time, and all sorts of rumors were soon afloat about him. It was said that the Governor had bought him over by the promise of an appointment to the office of Recorder of Fulton County; but there is no foundation for such a statement.[3]

Mr. Hansen's own account of the affair is honest and straightforward enough to be readily accepted as true. He assures us that he was always opposed to a convention, but voted with that party in order to gain time to carry through certain measures of importance to his county, feeling certain that there was no danger of a convention resolution passing before the arrival in the Senate of John Grammer, of Union. He was led to such a policy by "having received repeated intimidations, and in two instances positive declarations, that the vote of my contested election would be reconsidered if I opposed a

[1] This promise was never kept.

[2] House Journal, pages 435, 436.

[3] Letter of the Special Correspondent of the "Spectator" at Vandalia in the "Edwardsville Spectator" for February 15, 1823. Fulton County had just been organized out of a section of Pike. See the House Journal, pages 215, 219, 228, and 232.

convention; and the disposition of the majority to succeed at any rate left no doubt in my mind that such a measure was very probable, if not certain."[1]

He was not free from the natural desire to retain office when once in his seat; but he is to be commended that he did not allow personal ambition and the petty interests of Pike County in the end to triumph over his political principles and the welfare of the State.

The failure to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority in the House, caused by Mr. Hansen's change of front, would result in a complete defeat of the measure unless a reconsideration of the vote could be effected. As soon as the result of the ballot was known, Mr. Daimwood (a conventionist) therefore moved to reconsider, but he was ruled out of order by the Speaker, whose decision was sustained by a vote of the House. The House then adjourned for the day amid considerable confusion and excitement.[2]

That night—the 11th of February—there was a public indignation meeting held in the State House, where speeches were made by lobby members and a popular movement inaugurated to intimidate the minority party. When the meeting was over, a crowd of men and boys burnt Hansen in effigy, and marched about the streets of Vandalia beating drums, blowing horns, and shouting, "The Convention or Death." They paraded before the residences of Mr. Churchill and other members of the minority, where "three groans for Churchill," Hansen, and others, and "three cheers for the Convention" were

[1] Mr. Hansen's "Address to the Public," dated March 20, and published in the "Spectator" March 29. This attempt to intimidate Mr. Hansen is corroborated by Thomas Lippencott (the Secretary of the Senate) and Mr. George Churchill (a member of the House at the time) in their Reminiscences in the "Alton Telegraph," March 17 and June 2, 1865.

[2] House Journal, pages 43-46.

given.[1] It was thought that such a demonstration would serve to frighten some of the opposition into a recession from their position.

The same night it was argued among the convention leaders that Mr. Hansen must be turned out and Mr. Shaw seated in his place. Some of the members of the House even signed an agreement with this object in view.[2]

The following morning, contrary to customary parliamentary rules,[3] it was voted to reconsider the question of the election of Mr. Hansen. The documents relative to that subject were produced and reread; but the only new evidence submitted was the affidavit of Levi Roberts,[4] dated January 28, 1823, testifying that in his opinion Mr. Shaw had been elected Representative of Pike County by a majority of twenty-nine votes. In the debate which followed neither Mr. Field nor any of the other members of the majority advanced convincing or satisfactory arguments in favor of Mr. Shaw's right to the seat.

[1] "Spectator," February 15, 1823, letter from Vandalia correspondent.
"Spectator," March 8, 1823, letter from "a member."
"Spectator," April 19, 1823, letter from "a lobby member."
"Spectator," September 27, 1823, letter signed by the "Stenographer of the Caucus."
Mr. Churchill's "Annotations," No. 13, 14, 15, in the "Alton Telegraph" of June 30th, July and August 11, 1865.
Mr. Lippencott's "Early Days in Madison County," "Alton Telegraph," April 7, 1865.
According to Mr. Churchill a local poet wrote up this affair as follows (in part):

"And those we'd reason to suspect,
Subscribed a bond to that effect.*
* To remove Mr. Hansen and seat Mr. Shaw in his place.
With this the meeting then broke up
And sallied forth to take a cup
Of good hot new Convention Whiskey,
In order to feel fine and frisky."

Then after describing the burning of Hansen in effigy and the torchlight procession, he closes the scene with

"Till tired at last we skulked to bed
And rested many an aching head."

[2] A writer who signs himself "A Republican" in an article printed in the "Spectator," February 3, 1824, says that eighteen members signed this bond.

[3] Rule No. 20 of Jefferson's Manual (then the standard authority for all Legislative bodies) reads:—"Nor shall any motion for reconsideration be in order unless made on the same day on which the vote was taken or within the next two days of the actual session of the Senate thereafter."

[4] A personal friend of Mr. Shaw and a resident of Pike County.

On the other hand, the defense of Mr. Hansen was most ably conducted by Mr. Churchill and Mr. Mather. They argued, with reason, that the decision of the House, based on a satisfactory report of its committee on elections, ought not to be reversed merely on the presentation of such slight and insufficient new evidence; and they emphasized the injustice of removing Mr. Hansen at that late date without allowing him an opportunity of procuring new testimony. All in vain. The Conventionists were determined to force the issue at any cost, and a resolution giving the contested seat to Mr. Shaw was hurried through by a vote of twenty-one to fourteen.[1]

Certain, at length, of a controlling vote, the majority hastened to complete their work. The ruling of the Speaker that Mr. Daimwood was out of order, in moving, on the previous day, a reconsideration of the convention resolution, was reversed, and the original motion favoring a convention was taken up and passed by a ballot of twenty-four to twelve with the aid of John Shaw's vote.[2]

The convention forces were jubilant, and that night their victory was celebrated by another noisy street parade. But "murder will out," and within three days the whole proceedings of the sessions of February 11 and 12 were made public by the "Illinois Intelligencer." It was asserted in addition, that the real object of the Conventionists was the introduction of slavery into the State.[3]

[1] House Journal, pages 440-445.

[2] House Journal, page 446.

[3] Editorial, written by the Junior Editor, Mr. W. H. Brown, in the "Intelligencer" for February 15, 1823. For this Mr. Brown was forced to sell out his interest in the paper to Mr. Berry, a Conventionist member of the House, who was associated with him as Editor.

See also article signed "A. B." in the "Intelligencer," February 15.

Editorial in the "Spectator," February 22.

After Mr. Brown's editorial appeared the feeling in Vandalia was so strong against the paper that a mob collected in front of the office and threatened to destroy the press.

This the friends of the convention tried in vain to deny. The story of the contest in the Legislative halls —often exaggerated and grossly overdrawn in details —spread rapidly over the State, and everywhere the outrage of unseating Mr. Hansen worked to their disadvantage.

No time was lost in opening the campaign. The Legislature,[1] having accomplished nothing of lasting importance to the State, adjourned on February 18, but on the 15th the leading Conventionists had held a public meeting in Vandalia and drawn up "An Appeal to the citizens of Illinois."

The policy of the Conventionists at first seems to have been to separate the question of slavery from that of the convention. In their "Appeal"[2] no mention was made of slavery, but the calling of a convention was urged on the ground that several imperative reforms in the State Constitution demanded it. The connection of the two issues was denied in the "Illinois Intelligencer."[3] Some of the leading Conventionists announced with naïve frankness that the two questions were quite distinct,[4] but for the most part no mention was made of slavery at first in the public speeches or published articles of the friends of the convention.

The opponents of a constitutional convention hastened

[1] In the "Spectator" for March 1, 1823, there appeared the following "*Epitaph*":

"Beneath this cold and earthly pall,
Sleeps soft a Legislature,
Whom all the world, I think will call
A *black*, infernal creature.
His beauty bloomed! Oh what a pink!
His death, Oh what a chasm!
But sure the world will laugh to think
The D—— safely has 'im."

[2] Published in the "Spectator," March 1, 1823.

[3] Mr. Berry's editorials in the March issues.

[4] For instance, Mr. E. J. West in letter to "Spectator" published July 12.

to answer the "Appeal" of the Conventionists in another "Appeal to the People of Illinois," dated February 18, and signed by fifteen members of the minority party in the Legislature just adjourned. They denounced the recent action of the Senate and House in favor of a convention as a movement for the introduction of slavery into Illinois, and urged the people in eloquent and imperative terms to give the subject their most earnest consideration, and to rise in the defense of freedom.[1]

The struggle was now on. Both parties organized their forces early. The Conventionists placed the general direction of their campaign in the hands of a central committee of ten, resident at Vandalia, and appointed sub-committees in every county and township. There were on an average fifteen men at work in each county as "recruiting sergeants"; but at times there were nearly double that number actively engaged for a month or six weeks previous to some great convention rally.[2]

The Anticonventionists held a secret meeting on February 18 at a house where several of them boarded, and contented themselves for the present with simply appointing a committee to raise funds, requesting the Rev. Thomas Lippencott to make sure that the "Edwardsville Spectator" would support their cause, and con-

[1] "Spectator" March 1, 1823. The names of the signers were: Ridson Moore, William Kinkade, G. Cadwell, A. Bankson, Zach. Ogle, Curtiss Blakeman, Abram Cairnes, Thos. Mather, Wm. Lowry, James Sims, Daniel Parker, Geo. Churchill, Gilbert T. Pell, D. McGahey, and S. Stillman. There were three others who voted against this convention resolution, namely, Emmitt, Frazier, and Pugh, who did not sign this appeal. Very likely, as Mr. Washburne suggests, they had gone home, or could not be found in time to secure their signatures.

[2] "Spectator," August 16, 1823, and April 13, 1824.

Governor Coles's letters to Robert Vaux and Morris Birkbeck, dated December 11, 1823, and January 29, 1824, published in Washburne's "Coles," pages 162 and 182.

In Madison County the Conventionists had twenty-five men at work between June 28 and August 9, the latter being the date of one of their special meetings.

tributing money for the immediate publication of their appeal.[1]

At first the weight of influence and power seemed to be on the side of the Conventionists. A majority of the leading politicians, such as ex-Governor Bond, Judge Phillips, Elias Kane, T. W. Smith, and Benjamin West, were enlisted in their cause.[2] The press of the South, as well as the papers of St. Louis, which had a considerable circulation in Illinois at the time, supported them. They controlled four out of the five newspapers of the State,[3] while in the extreme south of Illinois there existed already a strong sentiment in favor of the introduction of slavery.

The Anticonventionists did not lack able leaders. In their ranks we find Governor Coles, displaying more than usual activity and energy; Samuel D. Lockwood, judge of the Probate Court; Thomas Mather and George Churchill, leaders of the minority in the recent Legislature; J. M. Peck, the preacher and agent of the American Bible Society; Thomas Lippencott, secretary of the Illinois Senate; and Hooper Warren, the talented editor of

[1] For the proceedings of this meeting, see "Alton Courier," July 15, 1858; and,

a. Copy of the list of subscriptions, etc., in writing and signed on back by Captain Curtiss Blakeman, dated February 15, 1823, in *Appendix* Ill. C.

b. "Spectator," June 28, 1823. Letter describing same by Thomas Lippencott to "Illinois Intelligencer" for June 12.

c. Lippencott "Early Days in Madison County," No. 37 in "Alton Telegraph" for April 7, 1865.

[2] For a more complete list see the "Intelligencer" and "Spectator" for 1823-1824, especially the issue of March 1, 1823.

Reynolds, "History of Illinois," page 154.

[3] Mr. Coles's Letter to Nicholas Biddle, April 22, 1823 (Washburne, p. 147).

The "Illinois Intelligencer," owned by Wm. Berry, a member of the "Convention majority" in the House, was their leading organ.

The "Shawneetown Gazette," edited by Henry Eddy, favored their cause, but was sufficiently broad minded to publish the famous "Jonathan Freeman Letters" of Morris Birkbeck.

The "Star of the West" was started at Edwardsville on September 14, 1822, but failed before the end of the contest.

The "Illinois Republican" (which replaced the "Star of the West" at Edwardsville under the editorship of T. W. Smith) and the "Republican Advocate" were less pronounced on the subject of slavery.

They made an effort to win over the fifth, the "Edwardsville Spectator" also, but in vain. ("Spectator," May 10, 1823.)

the "Edwardsville Spectator." With one exception,[1] these opponents of the convention worked together in complete harmony. They displayed everywhere the greatest activity. Societies[2] with secretaries of correspondence, and financial committees were organized in many counties. "No Convention and Freedom" was taken as a motto; and every energy was devoted to the task of agitation. It is a notable fact, moreover, that a large number of ministers took part in the contest, and always on the side of the Anticonventionists.[3]

The chief strength of the opponents of the convention lay in the number of gifted writers and thinkers who enlisted in their cause. Many of the articles written by them were so exceedingly well conceived and so cleverly put that the Conventionist writers were never able to controvert them. In reading over the fragments of this con-

[1] Governor Coles and Hooper Warren had a disagreement over the policy to be pursued by the antislavery element on the opening of Governor Coles's administration. The Governor thought he ought to inaugurate a campaign against slavery in his inaugural address by advocating the repeal of the "Black Laws," while Warren said that such an action was inexpedient and would precipitate the convention question. Warren criticised Governor Coles's action in this regard rather severely through his paper, which act displeased Mr. Coles, and he refrained from contributing much to Mr. Warren's paper during the contest over the vote for a convention.

Lippencott's "Early Days in Madison County," Nos. 37 and 39, in "Alton Telegraph," April 7 and 21, 1865.

Churchill - "Annotations"—March 10, 1865, in "Alton Telegraph," quotes Governor Coles's letters to him on subject.

[2] Societies were founded:
Madison County, July 4, "Spectator," July 12, 1823.
Monroe County, May 31, "Spectator," May 31, 1823.
Sangamon County, July 4, "Spectator," May 31, 1823.
Edgar County, July 4, "Spectator," August 9, 1823.
Pike County, July 4, "Spectator," August 9, 1823.
Greene County, July 4, "Spectator," August 9, 1823.
Morgan County, July 4, "Spectator," August 30, 1823.
Lawrence County, August 11, "Spectator," September 6, 1823.
Piason Township, Greene County, "Spectator," September 20, 1823.
White County, December 27, "Spectator," March 16, 1824.
St. Clair County, March 22, "Spectator," April 12, 1823.
Bond County, "Spectator," March 21, 1823.
See also J. M. Peck's letter, No. 3, in the "Free West," May 3, 1855.

[3] Rev. Mr. Peck assures us that there were thirty present at the formation of the St. Clair Anticonvention Society. The Rev. Thomas Lippencott was prominent in the Madison County Society, and a number of other clergymen contributed articles to the "Spectator."

test which still remain, one is struck with the superior excellence of these antislavery papers.[1] The arguments of their opponents in comparison seem singularly lacking in force, in logic, and in originality. No Conventionist ever produced anything equal to Morris Birkbeck's[2] "Letters of Jonathan Freeman,"[3] which caught the public mind as perhaps few political treatises have ever done in this State.

The extended interval which must elapse between the adjournment of the Legislature in February, 1823, and the next general election in August, 1824, was another item in favor of the Anticonventionists. It gave time to arouse public sentiment in their favor and permitted them to profit by the rapidly increasing immigration into the State from the East and North. In the year 1823 three new counties—Morgan, Marion, and Edgar—were organized, each one of which was settled largely by antislavery men.[4] This was a promising sign for the opponents of the convention, since nearly every person opposed to slavery was also an opponent of the convention or became such by the time the election arrived.

[1] See numerous articles in the "Spectator," 1823-24, signed by "Laocoön," "A Looker On," "A Friend to Liberty," "A Republican," "Aristides," "Benevolus," "Freedom," "Josiah Wright," "A Citizen of St. Clair County," "A Sixty-sixter," "A Friend to Illinois," and "One in Many" (Governor Coles), etc. After Coles purchased the "Illinois Intelligencer," he says "there were very few numbers of that paper which did not contain something from my pen." This was during a period of three months just before the election, namely, from May 11th to August 2d. This work included a series of articles, which were intended to summarize the speeches and writings of the most celebrated men of Europe and America on the question of slavery, and which were published under the title of "The Voice of Virtue, Wisdom, and Experience on the Subject of Negro Slavery." Besides this, he did a great work in procuring and publishing, at his own expense, numerous pamphlets, or popular works in pamphlet form, on slavery that could be obtained through an extensive correspondence, largely in the East. Among others, his friend Robert Vaux, of Philadelphia, contributed several articles. Then he assisted his party with advice and support, especially the "Anticonvention Society" at Edwardsville. See Coles's letter to Lippencott, published in "Alton Telegraph," April 21, 1865.

[2] An Englishman and farmer of Edwards County, one of the pioneer settlers of the State.

[3] Published in the "Shawneetown Gazette."

[4] All three gave Anticonvention majorities in 1824.

Meanwhile the work of agitation was being vigorously pushed by both parties. Speeches were made in all the county seats and leading towns. At every public dinner toasts were given on one side of the question or on the other. Thousands of pamphlets were printed and distributed broadcast,[1] while through the press the contest was carried on with nearly equal vigor on both sides. The Conventionists were no longer able to ignore the connection of slavery with the movement for a convention; and in June, 1823, they boldly admitted the fact.[2]

As the time for the election approached, the excitement increased. All sorts of accusations were hurled against the leaders of both parties. The feeling became bitter and intense between the contending forces. Personal encounters were not infrequent. Liquor flowed freely, especially in the so-called "Convention groceries," where the leading political questions were discussed day and night, and where every one who entered was forced to give "three cheers for the Convention," whether he knew what this meant or not. The spirit manifested throughout the contest by the Conventionists was vindictive and abusive, while the discussions of the antislavery men were dignified and convincing in tone.[3]

[1] Large numbers were sent in packages and boxes to various central points for distribution. Governor Coles is accredited with having furnished most of the money used for this purpose. See "Free West," May 3, 1855.

[2] The editor of the "Shawneetown Gazette" declared on June 14, 1823, that the people of the region of the salt mines are all determined to have slavery in some form, and intend to use the convention to that end.

[3] A comparison of the toasts given at the public dinners of the two contending parties shows this most clearly. Among those given by Conventionists we find these: "The Convention—The means of introducing and spreading the African family." (Three cheers.) "The Enemies of the Convention—May they ride a porcupine saddle on a hard trotting horse a long way without money or friends." "May those individuals who are opposed to our cause, before the next election abandon the State of Illinois; and then we will have a free silver circulation, combined with a numerous black population." "The State of Illinois—The ground is good, prairies in abundance. Give us plenty of negroes, a little industry, and she will distribute her treasures." "Slavery—A

The press of Ohio and of the East endeavored to support the Anticonventionists. But these efforts were neutralized by the irritation caused among many well-meaning citizens, by their continued haranguing on the rights of the Federal Government, and what it would do in case Illinois adopted a slave constitution.[1]

At length two events occurred which turned the scale in favor of the antislavery party. On December 9, 1823,[2] the State House at Vandalia was set on fire by a mob which paraded the streets shouting "the State House or Death," and burned Governor Coles in effigy amid mournful groans. These proceedings were laid at the door of the convention party, and it never successfully denied the charge.[3]

In the spring of 1824 the "Illinois Intelligencer," the chief organ of the Conventionists, became financially embarrassed. The leaders of that party failed to come to the assistance of the editor, either because they did not realize the seriousness of the situation or because their own finances were running low. In May, Mr. Berry was

political hobby-horse which some of our great men have loved to saddle. (Six cheers. Go to the D—— and shake yourself.)"*

And among the anticonvention toasts there were the following: "The Crisis—It is big with the fate of Illinois, and requires every friend of freedom to rally under the banners of the Constitution."† "The Freedom of the Late Northwest—May it be like the little stone that was cut out without hands, and became a great mountain and filled the earth." (Nine cheers.) "The Convention or no Convention—The world listens to hear the decision of our moral and political character pronounced by ourselves." (Six cheers.)‡ "We have confidence in the people of Illinois to support a free constitution and prohibit slavery; if we should be disappointed in the people, we still have confidence in the general government." (Six cheers.)§

* "Spectator" for July 11 and 23, 1823.

† Given by Governor Coles at dinner given in Edwardsville in his honor on 5th of March, 1823. "Spectator," March 8, 1823.

‡ Given at dinner of Sangamon County Anticonventionists, held in honor of Coles and Cook on July 4, 1823. "Spectator." July 8, 1823.

§ "Spectator," July 23, 1823.

[1] See Coles's letter to Nicholas Biddle, dated September 18, 1823, and given in Washburne, page 159. And "Trenton True American," "Philadelphia National Gazette," "Chilicothe (Ohio) Gazette," "Circleville (Ohio) Ohio Branch," "Cincinnati National Republic," and the "Spectator," May 3, 1823, May 10, 1823, June 14, 1823, and June 21, 1823.

[2] "Spectator," December 13, 1823.

[3] The purpose of the burning is not known, unless it was to destroy the records of the previous Session of the Legislature, which showed up clearly the corruption practised by the Conventionists.

forced to close his doors. The news reached Mr. Coles, who hastened to purchase the paper and to place it in the hands of Mr. Samuel D. Lockwood as editor.[1]

The antislavery partisans were jubilant, while the Conventionists were astonished and chagrined. Three months yet remained before the election, and the "Intelligencer" was used by the Anticonventionists throughout all that time to great advantage. Governor Coles ordered the paper to be sent regularly to all the old subscribers, no matter if they ordered it to be discontinued or refused to pay for it. In this way large numbers of citizens were reached whom the antislavery party could not hope to touch through any other channel.

The August election day drew near. Signs of the weakening of the convention boom were seen in the failure of the "convention groceries" here and there.[2] The Anticonventionists took great care to warn the people against spurious ballots, and Mr. Warren printed the act of the Legislature containing the regulations for voting "for" or "against" a convention in the "Spectator."[3] Nevertheless, the Conventionists printed cleverly arranged ballots, which in the hands of ignorant or careless people might easily be cast for the convention, when the holders really intended to vote against it.[4]

[1] "Illinois Intelligencer," May 11, 1823—Berry and David Blackwell were then owners of the "Intelligencer." In order not to arouse the suspicions of the Conventionists, Coles loaned Blackwell the money to buy out Berry and pay up debts of the paper, on condition that the paper be put into Coles's hands for editorship, until the pending political contest should be decided. See also Coles's letter to Thomas Lippencott, printed in Lippencott s "Early Days in Madison County," No. 40, "Alton Telegraph," May 5, 1865. Peck, in the "Free West," May 3, 1855.

[2] "Spectator," July 6, 1824, and following numbers.

[3] "Spectator," July 13.

[4] One of these ballots has been preserved. It reads:

"People's Ballot.

"For a new Constitution.
"For the article prohibiting banks.
"For the exclusion of negroes and mulattoes.
"No right of suffrage or office for negroes and mulattoes.
"For laws excluding negroes and mulattoes from coming into and voting in the State."

The 2d of August came. At the polls the antislavery men were confident and jubilant, the Conventionists determined but despondent. The result was a decided victory for the opponents of the convention. The figures were 4,972 votes for, and 6,640 against, or a majority of 1,668 votes against the convention out of a total ballot of 11,612.[1]

At the same time Mr. Daniel Cook (antislavery) was elected Representative over Ex-Governor Bond (proslavery) by a large majority,[2] and the Anticonventionists made substantial gains in the elections to the State Legislature.[3]

The results of this victory to the State and people of Illinois were considerable. The question, Shall Illinois be ranked among the slave States? was settled once and forever. Emigration from the South was checked, because Southerners would not go to a country where the prospects of retaining their slaves were extremely limited. On the other hand, the door was more effectually opened to emigrants from the North and from the East; and within six years they had poured into Central and Northern Illinois so numerously as to preclude the possibility of the proslavery element ever gaining supreme control in State affairs. Thus the character of immigration to our State was early determined; and the predominance of antislavery sympathizers made the problems of later generations easier to solve.[4]

[1] Official returns as given in records at Springfield.

[2] Official returns give 3,016 as Mr. Cook's majority.

[3] Official returns—In the House the parties stood: 22 antislavery, 14 proslavery; Senate, 11 proslavery, 7 or 8 antislavery. The exact status in the Senate, after the election, is most difficult to determine. The vote on January 18, 1825, resulted in a defeat for Morris Birkbeck (for Secretary of State) by 7 ballots (antislavery) to 10 (proslavery). However, one or more Senators were absent, and one proslavery man (Widen) voted for Birkbeck.

[4] It is not claimed here that the Southern element already in the State did not play an important rôle in later Illinois history; but if the people had been evenly divided on the question of negro servitude, the contest over that subject in the State would have been vastly more severe, and more difficult to settle. If the majority had been proslavery men, there is not much doubt that the State might have been divided at the opening of the Civil War.

It was a great advantage economically, moreover, that the institution of slavery was thus early excluded from the prairies of Illinois. If it had been encouraged, slave labor would have driven out all other labor, the want of independent, energetic, and progressive farmers would have been felt, and the development of the country very materially retarded. Further, the State was saved a lengthy contest with the Federal Government on the question of its right to change its practically free Constitution, on the basis of which it had been admitted into the Union, for one which recognized the institution of slavery.[1]

[1] The Constitution of 1818 was not submitted to the people for approval; and doubtless the proposed one would not have been. Therefore the vote of 1824 was the only opportunity for the people to show their will.

CHAPTER V.

NEGRO SERVITUDE UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF 1818.

The triumph of the Anticonventionists in Illinois was generally regarded, both in the North and South, as an antislavery victory, and the prevailing opinion seems to have been that a strong antislavery party existed within the State. The population at once increased rapidly through immigration, so that the number of inhabitants rose from 55,211, in 1820,[1] to 71,309, in 1825,[2] and attained the remarkable figure of 157,575 by 1830.[1] Within the same ten years thirty-four new counties were organized, of which twenty-nine were settled chiefly by Eastern men and but five by men of Southern sympathies.[3]

One might naturally infer from this, that a strong antislavery party would be evolved from the anticonvention party as a nucleus, or at least a powerful antislavery sentiment created during the decade from 1820 to 1830, which would have brought about the dissolution of the indenture system. Nothing of the kind occurred. No antislavery movement of any sort grew out of the contest of 1823–1824.

With the vote in August, 1824, the organization of the Anticonventionists fell to the ground. The discussion of slavery in the papers ceased.[4] People generally stopped

[1] United States Census, 1820 and 1830.

[2] State Census of 1825, as given in the "Spectator," January 14, 1826.

[3] Vote by counties on the convention in the records of the Secretary of State; List of counties and date of organization given in Moses' "Illinois," Appendix, Vols. I and II; and on Blanchard's map of Illinois.

[4] The "Spectator" and "Intelligencer" from August, 1824, to January, 1826, contain but one article, "Total Abolition," in "Spectator," November 2, 1824.

talking about it, and it played no vital part in the selection of a United States Senator in 1826,[1] or in the popular elections of 1826, 1828, and 1830.[2] The subject of slavery seems to have been dropped by common consent. The Anticonventionists, joyous over their victory, felt no desire to carry the matter further, since the State was safe from slavery for all time. The Conventionists were anxious to see the topics of slavery and convention sink as rapidly as possible into oblivion. They desired to regain popularity and to be free from the taint of association in the scheme to make Illinois a slave State. So the subject was allowed to fade quietly out of mind, no word even being raised against the holding of negroes as indentured servants.

The courts sustained masters in their right to hold slaves,[3] and the Legislature showed little disposition to repeal the "Black Laws" of 1819. In 1825 the freeing of negroes who had lately come within the State was made possible under certain conditions,[4] but no law was enacted which altered in any way the existing contracts for personal service. In fact, the disposition was to strengthen rather than to weaken the position of the master.

In 1827 and 1829 laws were passed forbidding negroes to act as witnesses in the courts against any white person, and prohibiting them from suing for their freedom.[5] Judges were ordered not to grant freedom to slaves, but

[1] Between E. K. Kane and John McLean, "Spectator," December 7, and November 30, 1824; Senate Journal, p. 38.

[2] There is no mention of slavery in the "Spectator" or Intelligencer" in the weeks preceding these elections.

[3] Cornelius v. Cohen, in 1825, Ill. Supreme Court Decisions, "Breeze," page 131.
Nance v. Howard, in 1828, "Breeze," page 242.

[4] Senate Journal, page 170 (1825); Home Journal, page 162.

[5] Session Laws, 1827, "An Act Concerning Practice."

to turn them over to the sheriff, who should send them back to their owners.[1] This last referred primarily to fugitives from the Southern States, but it applied equally well to the Illinois servants. It was provided, in addition, in 1826, that all slaves who attempted to escape must serve extra time in payment for the expenses of recapture.[2]

The number of negroes held in Illinois under the indenture system gradually decreased. In 1830 there were only seven hundred and forty-six.[3] This was due to deaths, removals from the State, expiration of indenture contracts, and the granting of freedom papers.[4] There were comparatively few persons, however, like J. S. Colton and Joseph Atwater, of Madison County, who freed their slaves on principle. They were too valuable property to be parted with easily. Usually we find masters granting freedom to their negroes, because, "he has compensated me by his labor and money for the amount I paid for him, viz., $825"; [5] or, because "she has served out her time faithfully." [6]

Negroes were not only retained in servitude after 1824, but they were sold and transferred from master to master just as before the adoption of the new Constitution. There are bills of sale still preserved, dated as late as 1837,[7] and one in 1848. The newspapers contained

[1] Session Laws, 1829, "An Act on Negroes," etc.

[2] Session Laws, 1826, "An Act Concerning Apprentices."

[3] United States Census for 1830.

[4] See the records of St. Clair, Madison, Randolph, and Gallatin counties.

[5] St. Clair County "Register of Negroes and Mulattoes," case of William Ross, freed by Elizabeth Padfield on October 29, 1841.

[6] Records of Gallatin County, case of Sarah Hargrave, freed by Henry Eddy on February 12, 1848.

[7] Records of Madison County, bills of sale of $\frac{1}{7}$ 1, Caroline, May 14, 1837.
2, Reuben, October 13, 1831.
Records of Greene County, bills of sale of three negroes, December 7, 1835, and seven on September 18, 1848.
Deed Records of Jackson County (p. 466), sale of Wilkenson Dumbaley by John Logan, July 3, 1837, etc.

advertisements of negroes for sale, or wanted, till 1826. Colored persons found in the State without freedom papers and unclaimed by masters were arrested and sold at auction by the county sheriffs. Notices of these sheriff-sales appeared as late as 1853.[1] In most cases of this kind, the negroes were bound out only for one month or a year.

It is quite impossible to determine when the last of these indentured servants secured his (or her) freedom, owing to the great difficulty of procuring accurate knowledge regarding all the cases. It is safe to assume, however, that many were not set at liberty till after the Supreme Court decision of 1845.[2]

For the most part, they seem to have been well treated; yet, during the years from 1820 to 1826 a large number of cases of runaway negroes were reported. They were pursued, and rewards were offered for their capture. Judging from the length of time these fugitives were advertised, it appears more than likely that few if any were retaken. There are no cases mentioned after 1826, and one may safely conclude that, either the lot of the negro was pleasanter after that date, or that he was more contented.

At that time, however, there were two good reasons why the slaves should remain satisfied with their lot. These were, the almost unbearable position of the free

[1] "Alton Telegraph," January 26, 1853; "Chicago Journal," July 1, 1853; etc.

[2] There are several cases dated later than 1845, reported in the county records that I have examined, especially the case of Cynthia Prater, freed by S. D. Marshall on August 31, 1853; Gallatin County Records, 1853; see also:
Madison County "Slave papers," case of Amos, held by Henry Bienvenul (of Kaskaskia).
St. Clair County Records (June 22, 1848), will of Michael LaCroix shows slaves held.
St. Clair County Records (March 25, 1844), will of D. Coons, gives girl Charlotte to wife to be free on wife's death.
Madison County, the West family held slaves till 1845; personal testimony of E. W. West, of Belleville.

colored people in the State, and the barbarous practice of kidnapping all unattached negroes. The former was caused by the strong public sentiment against the introduction of free negroes into the State, and the stringent statutes which deprived them of all civil and political rights, and tolerated their presence on the soil of Illinois merely as an unavoidable evil. The latter was begun as early as 1816,[1] but by 1822–1823 it had assumed such proportions that it was condemned by the press, and the Legislature was appealed to frequently to put a stop to it.[2]

At length, in 1825, an "Act to More Effectually Prevent Kidnapping" was passed, in which this nefarious practice was forbidden under penalty of the pillory, together with twenty-five to one hundred stripes, or of a thousand dollars' fine. This does not seem to have proved effectual, however. There is no evidence that any attempt even was made to enforce the law rigidly; while, on the other hand, kidnapping increased rapidly until it assumed the proportions of an established enterprise.[3]

Two or three men were usually associated together for this business. One would establish himself at St. Louis, or at one of the other border towns, and work up a reputation as a seller of slaves. The others would move about the Illinois counties on the lookout for negroes—slave or free. The freebooters never stopped to inquire whether a colored person was free or not. The question simply was, could he be carried off in safety? The chances of pursuit were less if the negro had no owner or interested

[1] "Edwardsville Spectator," August 4, 1819; "Western Spy" (Cincinnati), July 25, June 8 and 28, 1817.

[2] "Missouri Republican" (St. Louis), April 10, 1822: "Edwardsville Spectator," September 21, 1822, June 7, 1823, etc.

[3] Statutes of Illinois, 1825 (Act dated January 18); later enactments were made January 6, 1827; 1831; February 26, 1833; February 15, 1855; under "Criminal Code."

friends. The slave-hunters seized their victims secretly, or enticed them to accompany them under false promises, placed them in wagons, and drove as rapidly as possible to the borders of the State. They usually succeeded in getting several hours' start of the county sheriff, or other persons likely to pursue them, and escaped in safety. Occasionally, however, they were overtaken and compelled to release their prey.[1]

Another method of procedure, which grew more popular as the danger of pursuit and recapture increased, was to carry the negroes to some spot on the Mississippi or Ohio River. Once there, they were smuggled on board ships and forwarded to Memphis or New Orleans, where they were sold into slavery. Young able-bodied negroes brought good prices. One could hardly fail to make less than one hundred dollars on a slave. Often it was very much more, and consequently kidnapping proved a profitable business.[2]

To evade the letter of the law, a scheme was devised by which the negroes were taken from county to county by different men and finally delivered to agents from the South within the limits of Illinois. Thus residents of Illinois were in no way guilty of abducting negroes out of the State.

The kidnappers were, moreover, materially aided by the laws regarding colored people. No free negro or

[1] Testimony of Nathaniel Niles, of Belleville, and other old residents of central and southern Illinois. See also Mr. Eastman's papers at the Chicago Historical Society, and Mr. George M. McConnell's article on "Illinois and its People," in the Proceedings of the Illinois Historical Society No. 7.

[2] The "Illinois Spectator," 1825–1826. The most noted of the negro-stealers who operated with St. Louis and Illinoistown (now East St. Louis) as a base were James Duncan, Joseph McAdams, and Mose Twist. A prominent resident of Shawneetown—Mr. John C—had a cave near by on the Wabash River, where he used to secrete negroes until he could send them south on the Ohio River boats.

Interesting accounts of attempted kidnapping are given in Mr. Eastman's papers (also copied in Vol. I of Andreas's "History of Chicago") and in Mr. McConnell's article, referred to above.

mulatto could settle or reside in the State without a certificate of freedom.[1] This certificate must be shown to the Commissioner's Court of the county in which residence was desired. In addition, a bond of a thousand dollars had to be furnished as security that the negro would obey the laws and not become a county charge. Further, it was illegal for any person to hire a negro who possessed no certificate of freedom. The unfortunate individuals who had no certificates were to be advertised by a justice of peace, or by a county sheriff, and bound out to service again by the year or month.[2] Under such conditions, any negro who entered the State as a free man without a duly certified testimonial of freedom, or who became free within the State by completing his required term of apprenticeship without receiving papers from his master acknowledging this fact, was a legitimate prey of the kidnappers.

In course of time, numbers of runaway slaves appeared in Illinois, who were of course included in this class of uncertified free negroes. Consequently—and particularly since they were known to the fugitives from Southern plantations—they became especial objects of pursuit for the kidnappers. The pretense of a master pursuing his escaping property under sanction of the fugitive slave laws was an excellent subterfuge. This was made use of by the kidnappers not only to seize negroes known to be runaway slaves but to get possession of many free and unsuspecting colored persons.

The majority of Illinoisans were opposed to the prac-

[1] Statutes of Illinois, 1819, March 30, "Act concerning free negroes," etc. Sec. 1; also in Revised Statutes of 1845 and approved.

[2] Statutes of Illinois, 1819, Sec. 7, "Act concerning free negroes," etc.
Statutes of Illinois, 1829, Sec. 2, "Act concerning free negroes," etc.
Statutes of Illinois, 1853 (February 12), Sec. 4, "Act to prevent immigration of free negroes."

tice of kidnapping, and in many localities, like Eden, it was almost impossible for the kidnappers to get away with a free negro, except with the utmost secrecy and under cover of darkness, on account of the open hostility of the inhabitants to the negro-hunters.

When the business of kidnapping had in a way been legalized by falling heir to the work of recapturing fugitive slaves, an important change occurred in public opinion concerning the practice of negro-hunting. The fact that the slave-hunters were the agents—or the pretended agents—of Southern slaveholders, who, in accordance with the laws of Congress, were engaged in an effort to secure their lost property, introduced a division of sentiment in the matter. Great numbers of the people, especially in the southern part of the State, sympathized with the slave-owners. They thought that the masters were only asserting their just rights, and should not be hindered in the effort to regain their runaway slaves. Many even thought it not wrong to assist the masters, or their supposed agents, in capturing the fleeing negroes.

On the other hand, the vast majority of the people in the north and centre of the State, and in some districts scattered here and there in the southern part, sympathized with the negro, especially when it was known that his pursuer was *not* his lawful master. This class was for the most part composed of people of strong antislavery principles and sympathies. They were only too glad to see a poor slave escape safely from bondage, and were quite willing to assist him when necessary in eluding his pursuers. This state of things in the districts near the Slave States gave rise to the most intense feeling and the bitterest opposition between the two parties. It amounted in many cases almost to open hostilities. The proslavery

sympathizers aided and abetted the negro-hunters, while the antislavery men protected and defended the negroes. Out of this struggle grew the so-called "Underground Railway," which was instituted by the antislavery sympathizers in order to aid the negroes to escape to the North in safety.

It is difficult to comprehend, at this date, the bitter animosity felt by the inhabitants of southern Illinois toward the conductors of this railway. So great was the hostility in many sections, that the lives of well-known antislavery men were often threatened, and absolute secrecy as to the location of the Underground Railway "stations" was necessitated not only to facilitate the escape of the negroes, but also for the better security of the lives and property of the Underground Railway promoters.

The spirit displayed by these men was admirable and worthy of a noble cause. Many were well-to-do farmers, brave, rough-handed men, simple in their lives and creeds. Some were honest tradesfolk and prominent citizens in the towns. Everywhere they displayed an indomitable courage backed by a will not to be balked or thwarted. Nothing illustrates their spirit as well as the authenticated story of Burlingame.[1]

Mr. Burlingame was a prominent antislavery leader and farmer living at Sparta. One day it was noised about that Mose Twist (the well-known kidnapper) was at Sparta looking for an escaped slave. Burlingame went immediately to Sparta, and sought out Twist. "You're lookin' for a runaway nigger?" he asked. "Yes," replied the slave-hunter. "Well," retorted Burlingame,

[1] Authority of Nathaniel Niles (of Belleville), and James Hood (of Sparta), both of whom knew Burlingame well.

"that nigger is at *my* house. You come there at *your* peril. Good day, sir!" It is needless to add Twist did not go.

The position of the men who were engaged in the Underground Railway was rendered dangerous by reason of the laws which attached a penalty of five hundred dollars to the crime of harboring or secreting a slave.[1] The conductors of the Underground Railway did not hesitate, however, to afford the negroes under their roofs personal protection, even to the use of firearms.[2] But generally the presence of the slaves was kept very secret. Many interesting incidents are related by men who still remember those stirring times, concerning the escape of negroes via the Underground Railway, and very few who once got safe on board an "Underground" train were ever retaken.[3]

The practice of assisting fugitive slaves was begun as early as 1818, but the Underground Railway movement was not well established until about 1835.[4] It was not a systematic organization with regular stations and officers,

[1] Session Laws, 1826, Act on apprentices. Section 9–12.
Session Laws, 1827. See also revised Statutes, 1845.
Session Laws, 1833, Criminal Code, Section 147–49.

[2] See "Belleville Advocate," September 5, 1851, for account of the armed resistance made by citizens of Sparta, Illinois, to Sherwood, of Missouri, and his friends, who were pursuing his runaway slave.

[3] Personal testimony of Mr. James Hood, of Sparta, and others. Among those which we have heard related were the incident of John Hood, uncle of James. He and his wife aided a negro and wife to escape from a party of kidnappers who had them in charge on the homeward journey, and who had stopped for the night at Mr. Hood's house, by removing the negroes from the cellar, where their captors had placed them under lock and key, to the centre of a large haystack on the farm, where they were fed and concealed a whole week.

Also the case of a negro named John Walker. Walker had come from Tennessee without freedom papers, and was hired by Archibald Hood, father of James. Two kidnappers appeared, and one claimed to be the master of the negro, who said he had never seen him and did not know him. When the kidnapper attempted to take him by force, the farmer and his sons held the slaver's assistant and gave the negro a chance to fight it out with his supposed master. The negro, Walker, came off best in the affray and escaped, leaving the kidnapper badly wounded, to be carried off to the Sparta tavern by his friend and Mr. Hood.

[4] See Siebert, "Underground Railway," p. 40, and following.

but rather a number of isolated communities where the escaping negro was sure of rest and protection. Usually when a slave reached one of these so-called "stations," he was fed, housed for a short time, and assisted in one way or another to reach the next "depot," if the location of one such was known. Often, however, the negro had to make his way North alone, as best he could, from the general directions that his last host was able to furnish him.

There were a number of so-called "lines" which crossed the State, especially its northern portion. These were nothing more than a series of places, more or less connected, where the negro could be reasonably secure of protection and assistance.

The starting-points of three of these routes were Chester, Alton, and Quincy. The first mentioned passed near Eden, Coulterville, and Oakdale to a point near Nashville. Then the negroes were directed due northward to the Illinois River, passing en route probably near Vandalia, Decatur, and Bloomington. From Alton the negroes were aided northeastward by Jacksonville till the Illinois River was reached, and then along its banks to the vicinity of La Salle and Ottawa. From Quincy the fugitives were assisted to La Salle via places in the vicinity of Mendon, Plymouth, Galesburg, Osceola, and Princeton. One of the routes, worked between Ottawa and Chicago for some time, lay through Northville, Plainfield, Cass, and Lyons.[1]

[1] None of the present railway systems which cross Illinois were in operation before 1850, so that they could not have been used by the negroes *before* that date. Nor have I been able to find any evidence that the railways were used between 1850 and 1860. Professor Siebert, in his "Underground Railway" (pp. 14-15), assures us that they were used; but it seems he must be in error. For neither in the records nor in private conversation (or correspondence) with those once connected with the Underground Railway have I found any confirmation of his theory.

The objective point in common of all these "Underground" lines was Canada. A few of the fugitives found homes and work in the northern part of Illinois, but the great majority were smuggled on board ships at Chicago and forwarded to English soil. The officers of the vessels were wont, like Captain Blake of the "Illinois," to discover the presence of the blacks when nearing some Canadian port on the Great Lakes, and then to hurry them almost violently ashore with a great show of anger or displeasure.

It is hardly possible to estimate at the present writing the number of colored persons who were assisted to freedom in this way, but in the course of twenty-five years—1835 to 1860—it must have been very considerable. "Scores at a time," we are told, "were aided by the Hoods, Moores, McClurkins, and Milligans of the Eden-Nashville route."[1] Mr. Van Dorn, of Quincy, in the course of twenty-five years, gave help to some two or three hundred fugitives.[2] Philo Carpenter, of Chicago, is said to have assisted two hundred negroes to embark in that city,[3] and many of Mr. Carpenter's friends, such as Mr. Z. Eastman and Dr. Dyer, frequently aided slaves to escape—sometimes secreting them in their own residences.[4]

Before the Underground Railway had been fully inaugurated, the interest in the question of slavery, as a purely State problem, had gradually died out, and the subject had become, politically speaking, a back number. There were, however, large numbers of men who had been

[1] Siebert, p. 15.

[2] Siebert, p. 88.

[3] E. G. Mason, "Early Chicago and Illinois," p. 110.

[4] Personal testimony of Mr. Sidney Eastman and article by Z. Eastman on Dr. Dyer, at time of the latter's death, in the "Chicago Times," for April 25, 1878. Dr. Dyer's home was a regular "depot" of the Underground Railway, and he is credited with having assisted the first fugitive slave to escape, who reached Chicago.

trained to believe that slavery was a leading element in the State's prosperity. And whenever the people of Illinois were loaded down with debts and depression in business, such men were ever ready to put forth the claim that all would be well if the State government would only call a convention and readjust the Constitution so that slaves could be purchased and held there. Such declarations continued to be made as late as 1840,[1] and one stirring appeal for the introduction of slavery on economic grounds was published even in 1854.[2]

The holding of indentured servants, the kidnapping of free negroes, and the continual excitement over escaping slaves served to keep the general subject in a measure still before the people. There was, however, no approach to a general agitation over the question of slavery for some years—till the labors of the abolitionists began to excite universal comment and criticism. It was chiefly through their writing and efforts to arouse the people everywhere into a realization of the evils of slavery and to awaken within all hearts a desire to see the slaves freed, that the negro question again became a predominant issue in the politics of Illinois. The antislavery movement in Illinois did not begin to assume important proportions until some time after the death of Lovejoy. Still in the West, as in the East, the eloquent and uncompromising utterances of William Lloyd Garrison, in his "Liberator,"[3] demanding immediate and unconditional emancipation, impressed all thinking men, and his principles found some acceptance.

[1] Z. Eastman, "Anti-Slavery Agitation in Illinois." Article in Blanchard's "Illinois."

[2] "Belleville Advocate" for November 8, 1854, in which is reprinted a "Letter to the Charleston (Illinois) Courier," written by Dumas J. VanDeren, and dated September 16, 1854, which advocates the right of any State to change its Constitution on the question of slavery, and urges Illinois to do so for the benefit of all agricultural pursuits.

[3] Established in 1831.

The opposition to the doctrines of the abolitionists, on the other hand, was at this time as intense and bitter in Illinois as in other sections of the North. The majority of the people, even among those who were opposed to slavery on principle, looked upon the movement for immediate emancipation as premature and ill-judged. The press of the State opposed the doctrine. The "Chicago American" was especially outspoken in its opposition to the abolitionists. It regarded slavery as an evil, but looked "with abhorrence upon all measures which may intend to instigate the blacks to insubordination and insurrection," and deplored "the interference of the abolitionists, who only forged new fetters and placed in imminent peril the lives and property of the white population."[1]

Even such men as Z. Eastman, who later became the editor of the "Western Citizen"[2]—the official organ of the Liberty Party—and the Reverend J. M. Peck, a strong anticonvention man in 1824, were opposed to the abolitionists in the thirties. Mr. Eastman claimed that the movement for immediate freedom was ill-judged and that the introduction of negroes into white society was "an ill-timed and unhappy movement." In all their efforts the abolitionists seemed to him to be advancing far too rapidly with their theories to retain the support of public opinion.[3]

The abolition doctrines met with general disapproval everywhere throughout the Union. The sentiments expressed in Congress, in 1837,[4] were shared alike by the

[1] "Chicago American," September 5, 1835.

[2] Established in 1840 as the "Genius of Liberty," by Warren and Eastman, in La Salle County and in Chicago in 1842, as the "Western Citizen."

[3] "Vermont Free Press" (edited by Eastman), August, 19, 1834.

[4] "Your Committee cannot conceive how any true friend of the black man can hope to benefit him through the instrumentality of abolition societies. . . . They have forged new fetters for the black man and added a hundred fold to the rigors of slavery. They have scattered the firebrands of discord

masses both in the North and South. The abolitionists declared again and again, that their aim in agitating the subject of immediate emancipation was only to convince the Southern slaveholders of their duty to humanity, that they desired the emancipating to be done by the masters themselves, and that they were opposed to "the oppressed vindicating their rights by physical force in opposition to the laws of the land"; but their statements were *not* believed.

On the contrary, their purposes were wilfully misrepresented, their theories distorted, and their methods ridiculed. "There are thousands and tens of thousands," wrote Dr. Channing to Mr. Birney, in 1836, "who do honestly believe that in all their movements the abolitionists are actuated by a fierce and reckless spirit of fanaticism, careless of all consequences, and determined to carry their point and effect the emancipation of the slaves, even though it should involve the whole land in carnage and flame. We verily thought so once, induced, as are others, by the abominable misrepresentations and slanders of those who knew better." [1]

The press, the pulpit, orators in Congress and on the stump tried to throw the movement into discredit and to force its leaders to give up the fight. All in vain. The more they were attacked, so much the more did the abolitionists labor to spread their doctrines and to refute the arguments of their opponents.

Finding that the emancipationists were not to be silenced by arguments or by the general disapproval of

and disunion among the different States of the Confederacy. They have excited the most rancorous and embittered feelings in the same community. They have aroused the turbulent passion of the monster-mob." "Philanthropist" for April 14, 1837: Report of the "Select Committee" appointed jointly by the two Houses to consider the memorial on abolition societies, presented by the States of Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi, New York, and Connecticut.

[1] Quoted in full in the "Observer," January 5, 1837.

their principles and methods manifested by the public, the people in many places showed a disposition to crush the abolition movement by an individual persecution of its promoters. Mobs first appeared in 1834 with the July riots in New York City, where the abolition meetings at Chatham Street Chapel were broken up by the rabble, which threatened Dr. Cox and Lewis Tappan, leading abolitionists, with ink baths.[1] Then followed other persecutions, in Philadelphia, in Montpelier, in Utica, Lockport, and other New York cities, in New Hampshire, in Ohio, and at St. Louis.[2]

In Cincinnati, the press of the "Philanthropist" was destroyed by a mob on July 12, 1836, and again early in August of the same year.[3] Notices were posted at the street corners stating that the citizens of Cincinnati were resolved to arrest the course of the abolitionists, which was injuring business, and that the breaking of their press was a warning to them.[4]

The Southern press by its violent criticisms, and the Southern people by their threats and by the persecution of all abolitionists in their midst, only added fuel to the flame. The "Milledgeville (Georgia) Federal Union" printed on February 1, 1836, a notice signed "Many Citizens," offering ten thousand dollars reward for the delivery to the Sheriff of Chatham County of the "person of the noted abolitionist, A. A. Phelps."[5] The Citizens of Hillborough, Georgia, in June, 1836, seized the Rev. A. W. Kitchell (a native of New Jersey, and graduate of

[1] "Vermont Free Press," July 13, 1834.

[2] "The Liberator," and "Emancipator," and "Philanthropist," 1834-39, and other papers of the time.

[3] "Philanthropist," July 15, 1836, and September 23.

[4] "Philanthropist," July 15, 1836. The "Philanthropist" was forced to discontinue its paper, after destruction of press early in August, until September 9, 1836.

[5] "St. Louis Observer," April 28, 1836.

Princeton), tarred and feathered him, and rode him out of town on a rail, merely on *suspicion* that he was an abolitionist.[1] This sort of persecution and denial to citizens of their rights of free speech and fair trial was a grave error. Instead of intimidating the abolitionists, it only made them the more bold and incited them to more earnest efforts. In addition, the very flagrant injustice of such proceedings served to win over many to the cause of abolitionism who heretofore had been mere opponents of slavery on principle. The "Cincinnati Journal," commenting on the case of the Rev. A. W. Kitchell, said, "He had *suspicious* papers. . . . . Did they allow him a moment's time to gain witnesses or evidence? No. . . . . We tell the inhabitants of Hillborough plainly that the hairs on that man's head, if counted, would not equal the number of abolitionists which this intolerable breach of private rights in a slaveholding community will make."[2]

The effect was the same on those who suffered persecution because of their antislavery sympathies. They, too, could scarcely fail of being forced into the abolition camp by the very stress of circumstances and by the revulsion of feeling against their persecutors and all proslavery men. Thus, as Lovejoy said in Kitchell's case, "Whatever Mr. Kitchell may have been before, we have little doubt that he is an abolitionist now, and that he will continue such as long as he lives."[3]

Illinois was not behind in the "persecution of the prophets." There the word "abolition" was one "covered over with shame"; and it was the exulting boast of her people, in 1837, that no abolition paper would be per-

[1] "St. Louis Observer," July 14, 1836. Also "Newark Advertiser," "Cincinnati Commercial Advertiser," and "Cincinnati Journal," of same date.

[2] "Journal," July 1-5, 1836; "St. Louis Observer," July 14, 1836.

[3] "St. Louis Observer," July 14, 1836. Mr. Lovejoy's own experience and life are another example of this truth.

mitted to flourish on her soil.[1] Only one abolition society, of sixty-five members, existed in the State. Even this met only at long intervals and cannot be said to have prospered well, since hardly more than fifteen new members were added in three years.[2] Large masses of the people, especially in the southern portion of the State, were opposed to any public discussion of the subject of slavery. The majority preferred that the whole question be left quietly alone, and thus all bitter and rancorous feelings would be avoided and personal encounters prevented. Into such a community as this came Mr. Lovejoy, with a religious newspaper, whose columns were open to a free discussion of slavery and its evils. Was it then not to be expected that the State, which thirteen years before had risen in the defense of liberty within its own boundaries, would now ere long earn the title of the "Martyr State"?

[1] Eastman, "The Antislavery Agitation in Illinois," in Blanchard's "Illinois."

[2] "Philanthropist," July 28, 1837, Report of the Secretary of the Adams County Antislavery Society. Also "Alton Observer," July 10, 1837.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LOVEJOY EPISODE.

LOVEJOY IN ST. LOUIS.

Elijah Parish Lovejoy was born in Albion, Maine, on November 9, 1802. He was the son of a Presbyterian minister, and received his early education at the academies of China and Monmouth. In 1826 he graduated from Waterville College with the highest honors, and began teaching in an Eastern academy.

The young Lovejoy possessed a remarkable memory, and as a student had distinguished himself by thoroughness and proficiency in the languages. Courageous and manly, he won the admiration of his fellows by his skill as an athlete and a kindly sympathy manifested toward all.

In 1827 he made his way to St. Louis, and for the next two years supported himself by teaching and occasional contributions to the "Missouri Republican" and the "St. Louis Times." The latter paper employed Mr. Lovejoy as assistant editor in August, 1830, and he retained the position until February, 1832.[1]

St. Louis was the scene of a series of revival services in January, 1832. Mr. Lovejoy was deeply impressed, and decided to enter the ministry. He graduated from

[1] "St. Louis Times" for August 14, 1830, when his name appears for the first time, till February 18, 1832. It was during this time that he wrote some stanzas, entitled "Mother," in which the following almost prophetic lines appear:

"My mother, I am far away
From home and love and thee,
And stranger hands may heap the clay
That soon may cover me."

Elijah Lovejoy

(From a Rare Silhouette Portrait)

Princeton Seminary in the spring of 1833, and in the fall was summoned to St. Louis to edit a weekly religious paper, called the "St. Louis Observer."

The first issue appeared on the 22d of November.[1] Its editor from the first took a firm stand on all questions of religion, morality, and citizenship. His aim was to establish a thoroughly reliable newspaper, devoted not only to the religious interests of his denomination, but also to the principles of truth, righteousness, honesty, and sobriety. His opinions were always given without hesitancy or dissimulation, and when once his judgment was fully formed upon an issue, he never faltered in the defense of what seemed right. He denounced the evils of his time with a boldness and directness that often startled his contemporaries. Although frequently severe in criticism, he was never unnecessarily bitter or unjust, but preserved a spirit of mildness and forbearance quite unusual in an editor.

From the beginning Mr. Lovejoy was opposed to slavery on principle; but he was slow in taking an active part in the discussion of the subject. He wished to feel certain that he saw clearly the right solution of the problem.[2] Colonization schemes for removing the negroes seemed to him utterly visionary. "Immediate, unconditional emancipation," was most abhorrent to Mr. Lovejoy, because it "would be cruel to the slave himself and injurious to the community at large."[3] He did not sympathize with the method of agitation used by the abolition-

[1] An almost complete file is preserved in the State Historical Library at Springfield.

[2] In June, 1834, he wrote in the "Observer": "The subject [slavery] is one which has always, since we have known anything of the South and Southwest States, been regarded as exceedingly delicate and difficult of management. We feel it so . . . . not because we fear the truth and are unwilling to perform our duty, but because there is real difficulty in ascertaining what that duty is."

[3] "St. Louis Observer," April 16, 1835.

ists, and he feared that they would not adhere strictly to their platform.

Yet the necessity of awakening the South to the evils of slavery impressed Mr. Lovejoy, and he began to advocate the freeing of the negroes by a gradual process where the emancipation should be brought about solely by the voluntary act of the master, "made from a conviction of its propriety." He urged as a first step a reform in the religious status of the slave.[1]

When the report reached St. Louis, in August, 1835, that the abolitionists were using the mails to send incendiary pamphlets to the negroes, and that petitions were pouring in from the South asking the Federal Government to prohibit such a practice, the city was thrown into a furor of excitement. The newspapers denounced the abolitionists in the strongest terms.[2] Mass meetings were held and a "Committee of Vigilance" appointed, whose duty should be to preserve absolute silence upon the subject of slavery. If the civil authorities failed to give the committee sufficient support, it was authorized to enforce its own decrees—this meant with the whip and the rope.[3]

Every person suspected of being an abolitionist was in danger of being mobbed. Threats were abroad against the "Observer." Mr. Lovejoy, because of his antislavery and anticatholic editorials, was a special object of attack.[4] Fortunately he was out of the city at the time.[5] His friends warned him not to return; that his life was in

[1] "St. Louis Observer," April 30, 1835.

[2] See the "St. Louis Republican" for October 20; compare with their denunciation of the abolitionists on April 28, 1835.

[3] "St. Louis Republican," October 27, 29, 31, and November 2, 1835.

[4] He was accused of being an abolitionist and of circulating abolition pamphlets, although he had never even subscribed for an abolition paper or exchanged with one. "Observer," November 5, 1835.

[5] Had gone to camp-meeting at Potosi, and later attended the Presbyterian Synod at Marion, Missouri.

danger; and the publishers of the "Observer" hastened to assure the public that they were not issuing an abolition sheet, and that, while they were not responsible for Mr. Lovejoy's editorials, he would doubtless refrain, on his return, from the further publication of articles on slavery.[1]

There were violent riots in most of the leading cities of the North and South at this time, as well as in St. Louis.[2] A spirit of lawlessness and of utter disregard for order and good government was abroad in the land. Life and property were constantly in danger. It was a critical and anxious time. No one knew what a day or a week would bring forth. People generally were apprehensive of the future; and many thought the government was in danger of dissolution.[3] Public welfare and personal security demanded immediate action, and fearless men were needed to champion the cause of good government and freedom of speech.[4]

Mr. Lovejoy met the issue calmly, thoughtfully, fearlessly. He was the only Protestant minister and religious editor in the city. Not a voice had been raised against the reign of mob law. Not a paper had condemned the excesses of the populace. Was the "Observer" to remain silent too? Would it be right for one who had stood thus far as a champion of truth and righteousness in the West to falter—to remain a quiet spectator of the most outrageous violations of law and order? Was it

[1] Twice they found this necessary: on October 8 and again on the 22d.

[2] See previous chapter; for further particulars, see the daily papers of this period, also files of the "Liberator," "Emancipator," and the "Philanthropist" for 1835.

[3] See the collection of editorials on this subject in the "Observer," November 19, 1835.

[4] Two white men suspected of having assisted some negroes to escape were seized by a crowd of sixty citizens of St. Louis during these days of excitement and given two hundred lashes with rawhides. "Missouri Republican," October 18–21, 1835.

honorable to witness the introduction of the "New Code" [1] of lynch law without uttering one word in defense of the inalienable rights of free citizens?

Such was the problem presented to Lovejoy. He considered it seriously—prayerfully. Not in the least excited or carried away with the fanatical enthusiasm of one desiring the glory of martyrdom, he viewed the situation with all the calmness of superior strength, and reached his conclusion after the most careful and thoughtful deliberation. Mr. Lovejoy's mind was soon made up, his duty apparent. Mob rule must be denounced and the freedom of the press defended.

The decision once reached, nothing could deter him from carrying it out.[2] He returned to St. Louis about November 1st, expecting, as he says himself, "to be lynched, or tarred and feathered, or may be hung up. All is threatened." [3]

On November 5th he published in the "Observer" an eloquent appeal, entitled "To my Fellow-Citizens." This is one of the best articles ever penned in defense of freedom of speech and of the press. Few political documents equal it in eloquence, in logic, in beauty of expression, and in earnestness of appeal. A spirit of dignity and charity pervades it throughout. There are no violent diatribes against leaders or people, no wild harangues, no vituperative personal criticisms. The truth is told fearlessly, the arguments presented with ardor and dignity.

[1] Such papers as the "Pittsburg Times," "Salem Landmark," "New England Galaxy," "Maryville [Tennessee] Intelligencer," "Cincinnati Gazette," and "New York Courier and Inquirer," were denouncing this tendency to mob law. Charles Hammond, of the "Cincinnati Gazette," took as firm a stand for the freedom of the press as did Mr. Lovejoy

[2] He was detained in St. Charles a few days by illness, but neither the persuasion of his friends nor the prayers of his wife could keep him from returning to St. Louis. His wife—formerly Miss Celia Ann French, of St. Charles—finally urged him to go, since he considered it his duty. See letter to his brother in January, 1836, and editorial in "Observer" on November 5, 1835.

[3] Letter to brother, dated November 2, 1835.

The justness and good sense of the people are appealed to, with the utmost confidence as to the result. Few political orators or writers have taken a higher or nobler stand for truth and freedom; and few have displayed such a spirit of charity toward their opponents. The justness of his arguments and the moderation of his language disarmed his enemies.

Little space was given to the subject of slavery. Mr. Lovejoy emphasized the fact, however, that he was not an abolitionist, declaring fearlessly at the same time that he was—and would ever be—"an emancipationist."

Referring to the dangers of mob dictation, he wrote: "To-day a public meeting declares that you shall not discuss the subject of slavery. . . . . To-morrow another meeting decides that it is against the peace of society that the principle of popery be discussed. . . . . The next day a decree is issued speaking against distilleries, dram shops, or drunkenness. And so on to the end of the chapter. The truth is, my fellow-citizens, if you give ground a single inch, there is no stopping-place. I deem it, therefore, my duty to take my stand upon the Constitution. Here is firm ground; I feel it to be such. And I do most respectfully, yet decidedly, declare to you my fixed determination to maintain this ground."

In conclusion, Mr. Lovejoy requested the people to respect the property of the office and the persons of the proprietors and printers. For, as he said, the latter had nothing to say as to the matter printed. "I alone am answerable and responsible. . . . . If the popular vengeance needs a victim, I offer myself a willing sacrifice."[1]

This appeal was unexpected by both the friends and

[1] The "Observer," November 5, 1835. "To my Fellow-Citizens."

foes of the "Observer," and its effect was remarkable. The proprietors of the paper thought the step too bold, in view of the excitement of the time. They requested Mr. Lovejoy to resign. His enemies were nonplussed, and rendered inactive for the moment by the fearlessness and lofty spirit of the editor. For a day or two all was quiet in the city. The suspense to Lovejoy and his friends was terrible; and the result was awaited with almost breathless anxiety.

Slowly the tide began to turn in his favor. Friends and opponents alike began to rally about him. Men who had no sympathy for his religious or political views gave him their support for the sake of freedom of speech. As a defender of the rights of free citizenship he must be sustained, they said.[1] The papers all over the country praised his firmness and his defense of the freedom of the press.[2] Letters came in rapidly from Illinois and Missouri, thanking him for the stand he had taken, and urging him to continue the fight.[3] "The pressure," he says, writing later to his brother, "which seemed as though it would crush me to the earth, began to lighten. Light began to break in on the gloomiest day I have ever seen. I cannot think or write about it without my eyes filling with tears, for the deliverance which God wrought by so weak and unworthy an instrument as I am."[4]

By November 10, the crisis had passed.[5] The "Observer" was safe, and freedom of the press had triumphed.

[1] Letter to his brother, written in January, 1836.

[2] The "Cincinnati Journal" and "Cincinnati Gazette" for November 10; also dailies of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia of about the same date.

[3] The "Observer," December 17 and 31, 1835.

[4] Letter to his brother in January, 1836, printed in "Memoir," by his brothers.

[5] On this date he wrote his brother: "I do not think I shall be mobbed. . . . . A reaction has taken place in the city. . . . . The crisis is now passed. . . . . Tell mother there is no danger—not the least."

By the 23d all danger of mob violence was at an end, and peace and order were restored within the city.[1]

Although Mr. Lovejoy resigned in accordance with the request of the proprietors, he was almost immediately reinstated as editor, through the agency of Mr. Moore, who was compelled by reason of the temporary financial embarrassment of the paper to assume control of the "Observer." Accordingly the paper was reissued on November 19, only one regular number having been omitted. Its editor appealed to the subscribers and to the public for support; and he was well sustained. Letters of sympathy and encouragement poured in from all sides; and many new subscriptions were received. By the 26th of the following May the circulation of the paper had so increased that Mr. Lovejoy was able to issue the "Observer" in an enlarged form.[2]

During this period no serious effort was made to interfere with its publication.[3] But in April, 1836, an event occurred which filled St. Louis with excitement. A negro, named Francis McIntosh, who had killed a deputy sheriff in attempting to escape from justice, was burned to death by a mob of St. Louis citizens. This barbarous act was condemned by Mr. Lovejoy in an editorial in the issue of May 5. He made no reference to the color of the victim, but warned the people of the dangers of mob rule. "We must stand by the Constitution and laws, or all is gone," he urged.[4]

[1] See letter to his mother of this date, printed in the "Memoir."

[2] "St. Louis Observer," December 17, 24, 31, 1835, and May 26, 1836.

[3] In December an attempt was made—by flaring handbills and a public meeting at the Court House—to inaugurate a movement against Mr. Lovejoy, but it failed completely. It is interesting to note in this connection that the "Missouri Republican," which six weeks before urged mass meetings against the abolitionists, now preaches against mobs and mass meetings. "Observer," December 10, and "Missouri Republican," December 8, 1835.

[4] "Observer," May 5.

For this act of good citizenship the office of the "Observer" was entered twice between May 30 and June 6, and the press so damaged that it was possible to get out only a diminutive number on June 9.[1]

At the trial, in June, of the leaders of the mob which burned McIntosh, Judge Lawless promulgated the remarkable doctrine that a crime, punishable by death when committed by an individual, could be committed by a multitude with impunity.[2] Mr. Lovejoy was absent from the city at the time,[3] but in July he entered a vigorous protest against such a theory, in an able editorial headed "The Charge of Judge Lawless." The peace and security of the nation, he argued, would be endangered if such a sentiment were universally accepted.[4]

During the night following the publication of this editorial, a number of men—possibly twenty—broke into the office of the "Observer," smashed the press and type, and threw the remnants out of the windows. This was the answer of the Catholics[5] and slaveholding "mobocrats" to Mr. Lovejoy's patriotic appeal. The newspapers of St. Louis now openly defended his conduct.[6]

It had been determined some time before to remove the paper to Alton, Illinois, and public notice of the fact had been given.[7] It was thought that the "Observer"

[1] "Observer," June 9.

[2] In his charge to the jury he said: "If, on the other hand, the destruction of the murderer of Hammond, was the act . . . . of congregated thousands, seized upon and impelled by that mysterious metaphysical and almost electric frenzy which, in all ages and nations, has hurried on infatuated multitudes to deeds of death and destruction—then I say . . . . the case transcends your jurisdiction—it is beyond the reach of human law."—"Observer," July 21, 1836.

[3] He was attending the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church at Pittsburg.

[4] "Observer," July 21. For other criticisms of this charge, see the "Cincinnati Gazette," June and July; "St. Louis Republican," June and July 23, etc.

[5] Judge Lawless was an Irish Catholic. Lovejoy refers to this in his editorial, and had published several editorials directed against the power of Catholicism.

[6] "Missouri Republican," July 23; "Alton Telegraph," July 27.

[7] "Observer," July 21, 1835.

would be much better supported and enjoy greater freedom in the expression of its opinions in Alton than in St. Louis. No attention was therefore paid to the action of the mob, and the final arrangements for the removal of the paper were concluded.

Fortunately the press had not been damaged beyond repair. So it, together with such type and office material as the mob had spared, was sent by boat to Alton. They were landed on a Sunday morning, contrary to instructions, and that night the press and supplies were completely demolished on the wharf by a crowd of men, supposedly from St. Louis, and the pieces thrown into the river.[1]

[1] "The Observer," Extra, dated August 10, and "Alton Telegraph," July 27, 1836. The people of Alton disclaimed any knowledge of, or participation in, this affair.

CHAPTER VII.

THE LOVEJOY EPISODE

(CONTINUED).

LOVEJOY IN ALTON.

In 1836–1837 Alton[1] was a thriving little city of some 2,500 inhabitants, situated on a cluster of hills overlooking the broad Mississippi. It lay on the east side of the river, and about twenty miles north of St. Louis, with which it competed for the trade of the Mississippi and the West. Its reputation was excellent, its future promising, and its citizens industrious, enterprising, and benevolent. There were men of Southern birth and sympathies among her inhabitants, but the people were not to any great degree proslavery in their sentiments.[2]

On July 25—the day after the press of the "Observer" was thrown into the river—a well-attended public meeting was held. Resolutions were adopted, deploring the destruction of the press, promising funds for a new one, guaranteeing to all ample protection for life and property, but attacking rather fiercely the abolitionists and their doctrines.[3]

Mr. Lovejoy took occasion at this meeting—and in a letter to the "Alton Telegraph," dated July 27—to define his position. He was not an abolitionist. Nor was he come to Alton to set up an abolition paper. However,

[1] For detailed description of Alton at this time, see "Illinois in 1837," published in that year by G. S. August; "The Rambles or Travels in the West," 1837.

[2] "Alton Spectator," "Alton Telegraph," "Alton Observer," and the "Western Pioneer" of Upper Alton, edited by J. M. Peck, 1836-37.

[3] "Alton Telegraph," July 26, 27, 1836.

he was opposed to slavery, and believed it to be the duty of every man "on all proper occasions to raise his voice against it, and by all proper and lawful means to endeavor to effect its peaceable removal." Further, he should always consider himself free to "speak, write, or publish whatever he pleased on any subject." [1]

The editor of the "Observer" seems to have thought that the antiabolition resolutions of this meeting were all for effect—that there would be no serious objection to a discussion of the slavery question. The assurances of support given him would appear to confirm this belief. But he was mistaken. There was not only a strong feeling of antipathy for abolitionism in Alton, but also a decided opposition to any lively discussion of the slavery problem.

The subscription list and account books of the "Observer" had escaped destruction, but ill-health and the necessity of procuring a new press prevented the reissuance of the paper until the 8th of September.[2] The publication was resumed with about a thousand subscribers, of whom a hundred had been secured in Alton since the location of the office there. The circulation increased steadily until August, 1837, when the number of subscriptions reached two thousand.[3]

Meanwhile the "Observer" was conducted with the same fearless spirit as in St. Louis, and the subject of slavery unceasingly discussed. Mr. Lovejoy's opinions were, however, undergoing a radical change. He was

[1] "Alton Telegraph," July 27. Letter to his brother Joseph dated July 30. Compare also with the testimony of the leading citizens on this point, given in Mr. Tanner's "Martyrdom of Lovejoy," page 87, note.

[2] On August 15 a small sheet headed "Extra" was gotten out. It was printed only on one side, and contained Mr. Lovejoy's letter to the "Alton Telegraph" (printed July 27) and an editorial which had appeared in the same paper on the same date.

[3] Editorial in "Observer," August 10, 1837.

passing from *gradual* to *immediate* emancipation. He began taking abolition publications in the winter of 1836–1837, and admitted his interest in them the following May.[1]

The impression that this reading was making upon Mr. Lovejoy was early evident. In December, 1836, he wrote, "The slave-masters of the South, though guilty of great cruelty, are not monsters of inhumanity. Far from it. The great majority of them are men of generous human sentiments. But they do not know what they do. And the first call made upon them to emancipate their slaves sounds very much in their ears as it would if you should demand of them no longer to harness up their horses and plow their fields. The call must be reiterated, accompanied with reasons why it should be attended to, and ere long it will prevail."[2] These words are moderate, but they contain one of the leading principles of abolitionism—agitation.[3]

In January he admits that the abolitionists are not so fanatical and incendiary as people seem to believe.[4] Some of their leaders are possibly extremists and cranks, but the majority of antislavery men are honest, thoughtful, and enlightened citizens. They have justice, good sense, and right on their side. They, too, are aiming at the extermination of the evils of slavery. Whose methods are the better, the right ones,—his or theirs?

[1] Issue of May 4.

[2] "Observer," December 1, 1836.

[3] When the National Antislavery Convention met at Philadelphia on December 4, 1833, it adopted the following platform: "We shall organize antislavery societies if possible in every city, town, and village in the land. We shall send forth agents to lift up the voice of remonstrance, of warning, of entreaty, and rebuke. We shall circulate unsparingly and extensively antislavery tracts and periodicals. We shall enlist the pulpit and the press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb. We shall spare no exertions nor means to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance."

[4] "Observer," January 5, 1837.

The citizens of the South had devised no scheme—were proposing none—whereby the negroes might in time be freed. Was there any real hope that the South would ever undertake such a task unless thoroughly aroused to the dangers and evils of the system? Could the slave-owners be stirred to vital action by moderate appeals and half-baked theories of gradual emancipation? Or was it possible that only a far-reaching and impressive agitation upon the issue of *immediate* freedom would startle them into a realization of the situation and inspire them with a desire to liberate their servants? Thus the issue of the hour forced itself upon him. He must decide, and decide for himself alone.

Mr. Lovejoy faced the problem squarely, earnestly, deliberately. In February he resolutely discarded colonization schemes and gradual emancipation as absolutely inadequate. "As well might a lady," he wrote, "think to bail out the Atlantic with her thimble, as the Colonization Society to remove slavery by colonizing the slaves in Africa." [1]

Next he turned to the "Gospel of the Son of God" as the real remedy for the trouble; but before long this was abandoned. All that the preaching of the Gospel had thus far accomplished was "the good treatment of the slaves," [2] when the "very first step in this good treatment" ought to have been—to set them free.[2]

The first sign of Mr. Lovejoy's readiness to adopt abolitionism came in June. The secretary of the National Antislavery Society wrote the "Observer" for the names of persons willing to assist in petitioning Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. The

[1] "Observer," February 2, 1837.

[2] See Mr. Lovejoy's comments ("Observer," March 16) on the Rev. J. Douglass's letter on this subject in the "Boston Recorder," February, 1837.

editor approved the plan, and published this letter in the issue of June 29.[1]

A few local antislavery societies existed at the time in Illinois. The supporters of the movement seemed to be increasing almost daily. Many influential men were urging the formation of a State organization,[2] and the conditions appeared favorable for its inauguration. On July 6, Mr. Lovejoy published an eloquent editorial, advocating the organization of an "Illinois State Antislavery Society," and requesting opinions as to the best time and place for holding a convention to form such a society.

His appeal met with a ready response, and by August it was generally agreed that a State Convention should be held in Alton about November 1.[3] On August 15 the Madison County Antislavery Society extended an invitation to the State Antislavery Convention to meet in Upper Alton on October 26, 1837.[4]

Thus Mr. Lovejoy took his stand in the front ranks of abolitionism. He never regretted the step; never faltered; never looked back; but fought valiantly and fearlessly for the cause as long as he lived.

His antislavery editorials had already brought him into disfavor, and stirred up in Alton a strong sentiment of opposition to the "Observer." Since the spring all sorts of slanderous stories had been circulated about him.[5] His principles were so misrepresented and his character so maligned that many were led to believe the editor of the "Observer" a dangerous citizen, a fanatic, and an

[1] "Observer," June 29, "The United States Government has no right to interfere with slavery in the States, but it can and ought to forbid it in the District of Columbia," he wrote.

[2] Testimony of Dr. Beecher in the "Alton Riots," page 20.

[3] "Observer," July 10, August 17, 1837.

[4] "Observer," August 17.

[5] It was reported that he had said, if his wife died on Sunday, he would marry a negress before the next Saturday night. "Memoirs," page 212.

incendiary. Now that he was beginning to associate himself openly with abolitionism, the opposition grew more outspoken and more direct in its attacks.

On July 8 a mass meeting[1]—attended chiefly by those interested in silencing Mr. Lovejoy—was held in the Market House, where the opinion was expressed, that the antislavery articles in the "Observer" were causing undue excitement in the city. Resolutions were passed censuring the editor for allowing the subject to be discussed in his paper, and averring that he was violating a sacred pledge in mentioning the topic of immediate abolition. A committee of five was delegated to wait upon Mr. Lovejoy and to ascertain what he proposed to do in the matter.[2]

Nothing came of it until after the appearance of Mr. Lovejoy's second important abolition editorial, entitled "What Are the Doctrines of Antislavery Men?"[3] This was a clear, moderate, and unimpassioned exposition of the main principles of abolitionism. Its keynote was a call for the immediate emancipation of the negroes by their masters in such a manner as the slaveholders themselves should select. Its author had no thought of exciting discord and anarchy in Alton.[4] His object was simply to place the doctrines before the public in their true proportions, and to awaken interest in the abolition movement about to be inaugurated in that district.

The committee of five at once wrote Mr. Lovejoy, inclosing a copy of the resolutions adopted at the mass meeting of July 11. He replied in a dignified and respect-

[1] Called by printed handbills. "Memoirs," page 206.

[2] Official report of the proceedings in the "Missouri Argus" of St. Louis, July 18, 1837; also "Alton Telegraph," July 12, 14, and August 16.

[3] "Observer," July 20.

[4] On the contrary, he assured his readers that he "trembled lest through any inadvertence of language we should make ourselves liable to be misunderstood, and thus repel the minds of those we wish to gain."

ful epistle,[1] denying the right of a public meeting to dictate what sentiments should or should not be discussed in a duly authorized newspaper.

No reference was made to the question of a "pledge of silence" concerning abolition doctrines. This was a grave mistake. Mr. Lovejoy had never dreamed of making any such promise. Nor had he thought it possible that his words could be so misconstrued. He ought at this time to have had his speech and letter of the previous year reprinted, and to have shown the public just where he stood in the matter.

His brothers have assured us that he intended to deny the charge of having broken his pledge, but his friends persuaded him not to mention the subject.[2] If so, the friends were at fault, and did him deadly injury. His silence was construed by many as a tacit acknowledgment of the truth of the accusation. And the report, whether true or untrue, became an effective weapon in the hands of his enemies, and did irreparable injury to the reputation of a man already unpopular.[3]

The antiabolition leaders were determined to silence the editor of the "Observer," or to drive him out of the city. It was thought that threats alone would suffice. Late on the night of August 21, as Mr. Lovejoy was hurrying into Alton after medicine for his wife, he was surrounded by a crowd of men and threatened with a coat of tar and feathers if he would not promise to leave town or to keep silent on the question of slavery.

[1] Printed in the "Alton Telegraph," August 16.

[2] "Memoirs," page 220.

[3] Mr. Lovejoy did finally send a letter denying this charge to the "Missouri Republican" of St. Louis, dated August 26, published September 1, but he was not believed. The editor of the "Missouri Republican" commented on the letter (issue of September 1), as follows: "In spite of all we do believe that he violated his promises to the citizens of Alton on the subject of slavery," and he is "certain that but one opinion prevails in the community on the subject."

The editor made no resistance, declaring firmly they might do with him as they liked, but he would make no such promise. Nonplussed by this brave stand, and not wishing as yet to attempt personal violence, the leaders allowed him to proceed on his way unharmed. But they led their men to the office of the "Observer," and proceeded to destroy the press.[1]

Many people now believed that Mr. Lovejoy and his friends would give up the attempt to maintain a paper in Alton. "You may confidently assure our friends and the public," wrote the Alton correspondent of the "Missouri Republican," "that abolitionism is now at an end in Alton."[2] The gentleman was wrong. Abolitionism did not die so easily. Nothing made it flourish as well as persecution of this sort.

The friends and supporter of the paper met immediately and voted unanimously to reëstablish the "Observer."[3] An appeal was issued at once to the subscribers and the general public.[4] No mention was made of slavery, but funds were solicited for a new press, in order that freedom of speech might be sustained in Illinois. A hearty response followed. Money and subscriptions came in so rapidly that Mr. Lovejoy's brother was able to purchase another press in Cincinnati and return with it by September 21.

The report that a second press had been ordered in-

[1] For particulars, see "The Philanthropist," September 8, letter from Lovejoy; "The Philanthropist," September 22, letter from special correspondent; "Alton Telegraph," August 23; "Missouri Republican," August 24, September 1; Lovejoy's letter to his mother, dated September 5, in the "Memoirs"; Autobiography of G. M. T. Davis.

[2] "Missouri Republican," August 25, 1837.

[3] "Memoirs," page 244.

[4] Printed in the "Philanthropist" at Cincinnati, September 8. Fifteen hundred dollars was needed, and all interested in helping were asked to let the editor know immediately. See also Mr. Lovejoy's letter to the "Philanthropist," August 24.

creased the excitement in Alton. The animosity displayed toward Mr. Lovejoy grew more pronounced; his enemies more active. On the other hand, his friends lost heart, and were divided by differences of opinion. Some thought it unwise to maintain a contest which involved a continued loss of presses and property. Others were convinced that the "Observer" ought to leave the subject of slavery alone and keep to religious questions. Still others were of the opinion that the whole matter would easily be settled if Mr. Lovejoy resigned the editorship.

No hesitation was shown by Mr. Lovejoy. He wrote the proprietors of the paper offering to resign or to continue the fight as the majority of the Presbyterian brethren should direct. A series of meetings were held. It was at length decided unanimously that the "Observer" must be maintained in Alton, but no action was taken with regard to the editorship.[1] This was interpreted by Mr. Lovejoy as a tacit consent to his continuance in office. Thus the abolitionists avoided the responsibility of immediate action at a time when prompt decision and strenuous effort were imperative. They do not seem to have fully comprehended either the seriousness of the situation, or the resolute determination of the enemies of free discussion.

Even the destruction of the second press, on September 21, immediately after it had been landed on the wharf,[2] did not arouse the friends of the "Observer" to the alarming state of affairs. They went on quietly with the preparations for the approaching antislavery convention, as if nothing had happened. On September 27, a sum-

[1] "Memoirs," page 250.

[2] "Alton Telegraph," September 27; "Missouri Republican," September 22; letter from Mr. Lovejoy to the "Philanthropist," in issue of October 17.

mons, signed by 242 persons, was issued for an antislavery State convention to be held at Upper Alton on October 26.[1] At first the invitation was limited to those persons who thought slavery a sin and desired its immediate abolition,[2] but through the efforts of Dr. Edward Beecher, of Illinois College, this was extended on October 18 to include all the "friends of free discussion."[3] It was hoped by thus broadening the invitation that many influential residents of the State who were not abolitionists would be induced to attend and take part in the discussions.

It did not work in the manner expected. On the contrary, a large number of antiabolition men attended the meeting under the pretense of being "friends of free discussion," carried things all their own way, and adjourned the convention after a two days' session without anything of importance being accomplished.[4]

However, on Saturday, October 28, the antislavery men managed to assemble by themselves at the home of the Rev. T. B. Hurlburt, in Upper Alton. Here unmolested, they organized a "State Antislavery Society" numbering fifty-five members, and passed resolutions to the effect that the "Observer" ought to be reëstablished at Alton *with its present editor*. A new press was ordered, and the friends of the "Observer" began to talk of organizing a company of militia to protect it on its arrival.

Mr. Krum, the Mayor, promised to do all he could to preserve order, but he possessed no police force adequate

[1] See the little pamphlet "Proceedings of the Illinois Antislavery Convention, held at Upper Alton, on the 26th–28th October, 1837," published 1838.

[2] "Alton Riots," page 24, and the above note, No. 1.

[3] "Alton Telegraph," October 18, 1837.

[4] For particulars, see "The Proceedings," mentioned in note No. 1; "Alton Telegraph," November 1, 1837; "Alton Riots," pages 26–30, etc.; "Memoirs," and note by Dr. Willard at back of Tanner's "Martyrdom of Lovejoy."

to meet the emergency. The newspapers urged the citizens to respect the laws and maintain order. Yet little real effort was made to restore peace in the city.[1]

The persecution of Mr. Lovejoy continued.[2] On October 1, the house where he was visiting in St. Charles, Missouri, was attacked by a mob led by citizens of Alton. But for the bravery of his wife and the assistance of a friend, Mr. Campbell, he would have been lynched or tarred and feathered. Finally he escaped from the rear of the house and found refuge at the home of a friend in the suburbs.[3]

On another occasion he narrowly escaped being mobbed, because the gang of men lying in wait failed to recognize him in the cap he wore in place of the usual wide-brimmed white hat.[4] The windows of his house in Upper Alton were shattered with stones. Threats against his life were heard abroad, and it became unsafe for him to appear on the streets. His brothers and intimate friends took turns sleeping in his house with weapons at their sides to protect him.

When it was known that the supporters of the "Observer" were expecting another press (the third), the excitement became intense. Leading citizens recognized that the time for immediate action had come, and two public meetings were held, on November 2 and 3, in the vain hope that some plan might be devised whereby order should be restored in the city before any violence to persons or property had been perpetrated.

The friends of the "Observer" insisted in the name of

[1] Lovejoy's letter of November 6 to the "Philanthropist," printed in that paper on November 28.

[2] The "Missouri Republican" approved it and urged it on. See issue of September 22, etc.

[3] Letter of Mr. Lovejoy in "Alton Telegraph," October 4, 1837.

[4] "Life of Enoch Long," page 93.

the freedom of the press that it was the duty of the city and the citizens to give Mr. Lovejoy ample protection for his person and property. The antiabolitionists, on the other hand, claimed that for the sake of peace and harmony, Mr. Lovejoy ought to resign his position as editor and leave the town. Neither party made any attempt to meet the other halfway. The abolitionists never even thought of making concessions, and their opponents, although they suggested the necessity of compromise, took no step in that direction themselves.[1]

Mr. Lovejoy was present, and at the second session made a brilliant speech in defense of his position and the right to freedom of speech. He said he would willingly resign at the request of the subscribers of the "Observer," but never at the demand of a mob. He asked why he was so persecuted, and why they had not brought him before the courts, if he was deserving of punishment. Would the course they were pursuing, he demanded almost prophetically, stand the scrutiny of the nation? of posterity? Above all, of the judgment day? "Pause, I beseech you, and reflect. The present excitement will soon be over, the voice of conscience will at last be heard, and in some season of honest thought, even in this world, as you review the scenes of this hour, you will be compelled to say, 'He was right; he was right.'"[2]

All in vain. The meeting adjourned without taking action, other than the passage of certain partisan resolutions. These were directed against Mr. Lovejoy and the "Observer," and show the determined spirit of the anti-

[1] See official proceedings of these meetings, published in the "Alton Telegraph," November 8, 1837; also Mr. Beecher's version in the "Alton Riots," pages 52–62 and following; "Memoirs" by brothers, pages 270–280.

[2] "Alton Riots," pages 85–91. This is the only complete report of Mr. Lovejoy's Speech. He wrote it out at the close of the meeting to please Mr. Beecher.

abolitionists. No discussion of slavery would be permitted. It made no difference what editor, or what paper, dared attempt it.[1] All hope of compromise was now past. Nothing could be expected further from public conferences. The only remaining alternatives were, a resort to force, or the voluntary withdrawal from town of one of the contending factions.

Mr. Lovejoy, wearied by the unrelenting persecution to which he was subjected, became alarmed for the safety of his family. He saw the folly of attempting to maintain the "Observer" in Alton, where no effective police protection could be secured. Moved by a sincere desire to see order restored and the paper continued, he determined to sacrifice himself and make a public resignation. Accordingly he handed to Mr. Bailhache, editor of the "Alton Telegraph," for publication in that paper, a note in which he signified his intention of severing his connection with the "Observer." Before the letter could be set up, one of Mr. Lovejoy's intimate abolition friends came into the office and asked leave to borrow the note. The friends of the editor, he said, wished to see it before it was printed. It *never again appeared*. Thus an easy solution of the problem was prevented, and Mr. Lovejoy forced to continue the contest.[2]

The friends of the "Observer" were united in the conviction that the paper ought to be reëstablished, with Mr. Lovejoy as editor, but divided in opinion as to where it

[1] One of the resolutions said that "the citizens could not recommend the reëstablishment of the 'Observer' or any other paper of a similar character and conducted with a like spirit."—"Alton Telegraph," November 8, 1837. Mr. Linder testified in the Alton Trials that "it was not Mr. Lovejoy against whom they objected but his principles; and that if any man, even Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, or Andrew Jackson, should come there to discuss them, it would make no difference." "Alton Riots," page 94.

[2] Editorial in the "Alton Telegraph," June 28, 1845; Mr. Bailhache was still editor. Also an article by Thomas Dimmock in the "Missouri Republic," July 23, 1871, entitled "Lovejoy." Mr. Dimmock names the Rev. F. W. Graves as the person who called for Mr. Lovejoy's note.

should be set up. Some thought it ought at any cost to be maintained in Alton. Others—more prudent—wished to remove it to some other place. At first it was proposed to deposit the press secretly at some landing on the river below Alton, where it could be kept hid until the excitement was over. Owing to bad weather and the delay in getting it up from Cincinnati, this plan was unfortunately abandoned. It was decided to let the printing machine come on to Alton, but arrangements were made for landing it at night and storing it away secretly. It was hoped that its existence in the city would remain unknown till the supporters of the "Observer" should determine where to set it up.[1]

In addition an effort was made to insure the safety of the press. The Mayor could furnish but one or two constables. So, with his approval,[2] a volunteer citizens' guard numbering about forty men was organized and drilled on November 5. Mr. William Harned was chosen captain, and a special number were detailed to watch for the printing-press.

About two o'clock Tuesday morning, the 6th, the steamer "Missouri Fulton," arrived, and in the presence of the Mayor, the press was safely landed and carried to the store of Godfrey, Gilman & Co. No one appeared to molest the work. Those present were elated with the complete success of the manœuvre, and believed that the worst was over.

The following day the presence of the press in the city became known, and ere long it was reported that an attempt to break into the store would be made that night.

[1] Collection of articles and testimonials of persons who shared in the events of November 2–7, printed in the "Observer," December 28, 1837.

[2] Letter of the Mayor in the "Alton Telegraph," November 15, and his testimony in the Alton Trials. "Alton Trials," by Lincoln, pages 38-9.

At first the antislavery men—or as they preferred to call themselves, "the friends of good order"—gave little credit to the report. As the day advanced, however, their fears increased, and when evening came, a guard of twenty men was stationed in the store.[1]

About seven o'clock definite information was received by Mr. Gilman that a mob was collecting and would soon make a determined effort to secure the press. Preparations were immediately put under way for the defense. Mr. Tanner, with eight men, was given charge of the ground floor, and the remainder of the men were stationed on the second and third stories under the command of Enoch Long. It was agreed to act merely on the defensive and to use firearms only in case of extreme necessity.[2]

The defenders now awaited in anxious expectancy the appearance of the mob. They felt reasonably secure. The building was a three-story stone structure extending through the whole block from the river-landing to Second Street. The lots on both sides were vacant, so that the warehouse could easily be assailed from all sides. The only vulnerable points, however, were the doors and windows at the front and rear, and the wooden roof. The doors were quite strong, but the windows were without shutters. Not anticipating serious trouble, the "friends of good order" had made no preparations to withstand a siege. They had no food, and only a limited supply of ammunition.

[1] "List of men in building" that night, presented by Mr. H. Tanner to the Alton Historical Society. Testimony of Keating, H. W. West and others in the "Alton Riot Trials"; Thos. Dimmock's Speech on Lovejoy, and "Memoirs" of brothers, page 283. Mr. Lovejoy's brothers assure us that only three or four of them were abolitionists, while the rest were citizens who were interested in preserving good order.

[2] Lecture on "Early Reminiscences of Alton," by Joseph Brown. Mr. Brown was a boy at the time, and present in the store on the night of November 7. Later became Mayor of Alton.

About ten o'clock a crowd of men,[1] armed with pistols, clubs, and stones appeared at the south end of the store and demanded the press. Mr. Gilman addressed the mob from a third-story window, urging the men to disperse peaceably to their homes, and refusing to give up the press. The crowd then passed around to the other end of the building and demolished the windows with a volley of stones. They next procured a piece of timber and prepared to break in the door. In order to frighten the defenders back from the windows above before the rush on the door was made, a few shots were fired into the warehouse. No one within was injured. The attack on the door began, and that instant Captain Long ordered the defenders to fire. Lyman Bishop,[2] who was helping to carry the timber, was shot and mortally wounded. He was carried to the office of Dr. Hart, where he died soon after, and the mob retired for a time.

Its leaders raised their spirits in the grog-shops and soon returned, brandishing their weapons and shouting, they'd "like to kill every d—d abolitionist in town." Their followers had increased in numbers, and they were better armed.

Meanwhile the church bells had been rung, a great crowd of curious spectators had assembled, and the Mayor had arrived. He tried to persuade the multitude to disperse. Failing in this, Mr. Krum entered the store and endeavored to induce the besieged to compromise with the mob. Not succeeding here either, he withdrew from the building and announced to the crowd that the defenders of the press were determined not to yield.

Immediately the excited throng rushed again to the assault, shouting, "Fire the house!" "Burn 'em out!"

[1] The Mayor gives the number as 20 to 30.

[2] He was a young carpenter who had come to Alton from New York State just a few days previously.

They passed around to the east side, where there were no windows, and placed a ladder against the wall. Before they could mount five of the besieged volunteered to gain control of the ladder. Among them was Mr. Lovejoy. They rushed out from the south door, fired a volley, frightened the men away from the ladder, and returned to load.

In a few moments Mr. Lovejoy and several others stepped outside to reconnoitre. It was a moonlight night. They could see plainly and were themselves exposed to view. Just at that moment some one behind a pile of lumber in the lot fired upon them, mortally wounding Mr. Lovejoy and slightly injuring Mr. Weller. Mr. Lovejoy ran into the warehouse, where he fell, exclaiming, "I am shot," and expired almost immediately.[1]

Mr. Harned then informed the mob of Mr. Lovejoy's death, and offered to surrender the press, if those inside were allowed to retreat in safety. Receiving no definite answer, the besieged decided to make a dash from the rear door along the river front. Some shots were fired at them, but they effected their escape unharmed, leaving behind the dead and wounded. Meanwhile some interested spectators extinguished the fire on the roof, and the mob broke into the warehouse. The press was thrown out onto the landing, smashed as much as possible, and tossed into the river.[2]

The next day a few friends removed the body of Mr.

[1] "Memoirs," pages 289 and 290.

[2] The battered press lay in the river till 1858, when W. R. Mead bought the "find" for $35, and removed it to Iowa. From 1858 to 1870 it was used to print the "Cresco Plain Dealer," at New Oregon, Howard County, Iowa. Then George E. Frost bought it for $100 and printed the "Clear Lake Observer" on it till about 1876, when it was again sold to F. A. Gates, editor of the "Belmont Herald." For about twenty years it remained in service at Belmont, Iowa, and was then sold to Mr. C. F. Gunther, of Chicago, who exhibited it in "Libby Prison," and in whose possession it now remains.

Testimony of Mr. Frost in "Clear Lake Observer," December, 1876; "Belmont Herald," December 15, 1876; E. A. Pierce, present editor of "Belmont Herald," in personal note; and C. F. Gunther.

Lovejoy to his home. Vulgar jests and sneers were hurled at the little company as they moved along the streets. There was no inquest, and he was buried on November 9 without ceremony—other than a prayer at the grave by the Rev. Thomas Lippencott, his father-in-law.[1]

It has never been proved who shot Mr. Lovejoy.[2] On Friday, January 19, 1838, a number of the chief participants in the events of November 7 were arraigned before the Court; but they were all unanimously acquitted on the ground that the evidence presented was not sufficient to prove that those persons mentioned in the indictment had taken part in the riot or in the destruction of the press. The testimonies given clearly show, however, that each of the individuals on trial had been present, and that most of them had had weapons of some sort in their hands.[3] The counsel for the defense was Mr. U. F. Linder, State's Attorney, and one of the men who had spoken strongly against Mr. Lovejoy in the meetings of November 2 and 3.

The character of this defense of the rioters, the refusal of the citizens to give the protection requested by the friends of the "Observer," and the fact that the jury returned a verdict of "not guilty" within fifteen minutes, all go to prove that the Alton public not only wished to protect the participants in the riot, but also applauded their deeds of the night of November 7.

In fact, in Alton and its immediate vicinity public sentiment decried Lovejoy and laid the blame of the ex-

[1] For particulars of the events of November 7, see letter of Mayor, "Alton Telegraph," November 15, 1837; letter signed "W," "Cincinnati Journal," November 8; "Missouri Argus," November 18; "Missouri Republican," November 10; "Alton Telegraph," November 8, 15, 29; "Alton Observer," December 28, 1837; testimonies in the "Alton Riot Trials," "Memoirs," "Alton Riots," etc.

[2] Dr. Samuel Willard says that J. M. Rock was the person who did the shooting. See Appendix to Tanner's "Martyrdom of Lovejoy."

[3] "Notes on the Alton Trials," by Lincoln, published 1838.

citement and the riot upon the shoulders of the abolitionists and of Mr. Lovejoy himself,[1] but throughout the nation generally the action of the rioters was condemned and Lovejoy's death laid at their door.

The press of the North was almost unanimous—nonabolition as well as abolition—in its support of Mr. Lovejoy and his conduct.[2] The abolitionists naturally claimed him as a martyr to their own cause.[3] The other papers—even those like the "Peoria Register," the "Clermont (Ohio) Courier," and the "Pittsburg Times," which were distinctly antiabolition—regarded Mr. Lovejoy as the champion of the liberties of the country. They spoke of the event as a violation of the freedom of the press, and argued conclusively that such illegal violence would do more for the cause of the abolitionists than any number of speeches, pamphlets, or books could ever do.

It is remarkable also that the strongest sentiments of disapproval of the action of the Alton mob came from Southern editors; and that as a whole the papers of the South deprecated the murder and arson as much as those of the North.[4]

[1] See, for example, "Missouri Saturday News," February 3, 1838, and "Missouri Republican" for November 10, 14, December 3 and 21, 1837.

[2] See all newspapers of the time, of which we can mention the "Peoria Register," "Philadelphia Observer," "Galena Advertiser," "Fitchburg Courier," "Haverhill Gazette," "New York Evening Post," "New York Observer," "Massachusetts Spy," "New York American," "The Pennsylvanian," "Taunton Whig," "Painesville (O.) Republican," "Hennepin Journal," "Boston Daily Advocate," "Pittsburg Commercial Journal," "Pittsburg Gazette," "Pittsburg Times," "Cincinnati Gazette," "Clermont (O.) Courier," "Jeffersonville (Ia.) Courier," "Providence Journal," "Boston Times," "Louisville Journal," "Louisville Herald," "Baltimore Chronicle," "Elizabeth (Ky.) Star," "Boston Atlas," "New York Baptist Register," "New York Journal of Commerce," "Salem Gazette," "Zion's Herald," "The Watchman," "New York Christian Intelligencer," "Western Christian Advocate," "Ohio Political Register," "Circleville (O.) Herald," and the "Concord Freeman." "Philanthropist," "Emancipator," and "Liberator," all of which deplored the riot and praised the stand of Lovejoy.

[3] See the "Philanthropist," November 21, 1837, November 28, 1837, and December 19, 1837; and other abolition papers in their November and December issues.

[4] See, for instance, the editorials in the "Philadelphia Observer" in reference to the Southern press, November 20 to December 1, 1837; also, for same dates, "Louisville Herald" and "Journal," "Elizabethtown (Ky.) Star," and the "Baltimore Chronicle."

The "Observer" was reissued at Cincinnati on December 28, 1837, with Elisha W. Chester as editor, and its publication continued till the following April.[1] Its patronage had vanished, however. Its vitality seems to have gone out with the life of its able editor and founder. No further attempt was made to replace it. Nor was there any antislavery paper published in Illinois for several years thereafter.

The contest waged by the "friends of good order" in Alton did not benefit materially the cause of freedom of speech. It aroused but a temporary revulsion of feeling throughout the Union against such lawless proceedings. Similar outbreaks have occurred quite commonly at intervals ever since.

On the other hand, the death of Mr. Lovejoy proved a great gain to the general abolition cause. It secured for that movement such men as Wendell Phillips and the Hon. Richard Fletcher, who might not have been won in any other way.[2] And it stirred all loyal antislavery men to renewed efforts and greater enthusiasm.

In Illinois the effect of the rioting at Alton upon the antislavery cause was not at once apparent. There was a small public meeting in Chicago, which condemned the assault on the warehouse as a blow at the freedom of the press. This and the censure of a few papers like the "Peoria Register" were the only protests against the outrage. In fact, few people in the State cared to raise their voices in condemnation of the deed—such was the disrepute in which the abolitionists were then held.[3]

[1] Discontinued after April 19, 1838. File in Chicago Historical Society.

[2] "Boston Times," November 10-20.

[3] Z. Eastman's article, "Antislavery Agitation in Illinois," in Blanchard's "Illinois."

In 1837 the General Assembly of Illinois unanimously approved the report of a special committee, which condemned abolitionism in strong language, and

Nevertheless, the martyrdom of Lovejoy had a beneficial effect on many minds, and as will be more fully shown in the following pages, the antislavery movement in Illinois had its origin in the work and death of Elijah P. Lovejoy.

closed with these words: "We sincerely deplore the evils of abolition societies; and we firmly believe their doctrines and proceedings are more productive of evil than of moral and political good." "Philanthropist," April 14, 1837.

LYMAN J. TRUMBULL

(*From Portrait in Possession of George H. Robbins, Esq., Chicago*)

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SLAVERY QUESTION IN THE COURTS.

It has already been shown how the system of indentured servants was introduced by the Territorial laws of Indiana in 1807, and confirmed by the Illinois Constitution of 1818, and the Statutes of March, 1819, in seeming contradiction with the Ordinance of 1787. It might have been expected that ere long cases would arise to test the validity of these enactments, but in point of fact, such cases were very slow in making their appearance in the Supreme Court. It was six years after the laws respecting indentured servants were passed before the first case was argued, and nearly ten years before that court rendered any decision on the legality of the laws of 1819. This was due to various causes. In the first place, negroes were forbidden by law to appear as witnesses in court.[1] Then they were too poor, for the most part, to inaugurate lawsuits and fight their way up to the Supreme Court. Moreover, the public concerned themselves very little about the indentured servants in those days. Nor were the lawyers sufficiently interested or philanthropically enough inclined to champion their cause.

The first case which came before the Supreme Court of Illinois having a bearing on this subject was that of Cornelius vs. Cohen.[2] This was tried in the winter term of 1825. It was the case of a negro girl, named Betsey, whose mother—Rachel— had apprenticed herself to one

[1] Statutes, 1819 (March), and 1827 (February), "Act Concerning Practice."
[2] Illinois Supreme Court Decisions; Breeze, page 131.

Joseph Cornelius, on October 6, 1804, for a term of fifteen years. The indenture, which had been signed only by Rachel, had expired, and the woman was now free. Mr. Cornelius, however, claimed the right to the services of Betsey, the daughter of his former servant Rachel, under the Territorial law of 1807.

Justice Lockwood rendered the decision of the Court, to the effect that the 13th section of the Act of 1807 did not embrace cases where the master and servant did not agree upon the time of service before the County Clerk. Therefore we have the principle established, that indentures not signed by the master are void. It is to be inferred, also, that the Court did not consider indentures legal unless signed by both contracting parties, or in other words, unless issued in strict compliance with the terms of the Act of 1807. This was a small but an essential gain for the negroes, since this decision must have acted as an effectual check on all unscrupulous masters who would, if it were possible, entice and browbeat free negroes into their service.

The first important case was that of Nance vs. Howard,[1] which was decided in December, 1828. The vital question at issue was, Can negroes be sold in Illinois? The Supreme Court was of the opinion that "registered servants are goods and chattels, and can be sold on execution."

As proof of this assertion, Justice Lockwood showed that both the Territorial Legislatures[2] and the State Legislature[3] had considered registered servants as personal property. Then, too, the execution and attachment laws of the State provided that the time of negro

[1] Breeze, page 242.
[2] Acts, September 17, 1807, on "Execution," Sec. 7; on "Servants," Sec. 3.
[3] State Session Laws, March 27, 1819; February 18, 1823; February 19, 1827.

servants may be sold or transferred,[1] and while a poll tax was forbidden by the Constitution, negro servants have always been taxed as property, not per head but per value.[2] Therefore, since registered servants are property, they are transferable like other goods and chattels on execution.

This was a question of vital interest, as it affected both the transfers of indentured negroes, which were constantly occurring, and the sale by the sheriffs of the time of negroes who might be found at liberty in the State, but without freedom papers. The judgment in this case of Nance vs. Howard, confirmed then the legality of those laws which provided for the sale of the time of indentured negroes. This held good until the Supreme Court, twelve years later, reversed its decision, and declared that the presumption of the law in Illinois is, that every person is free without regard to color, and that the sale of free persons is illegal.[3]

In the same session in which the case of Nance vs. Howard was decided, a far more important judgment was rendered in the case of Phœbe vs. William Jay.[4] The facts of the affair were as follows: Phœbe had been indentured by Joseph Jay in November, 1814, to serve forty years. In course of time Joseph Jay died, leaving all his property to his son, William Jay, who was also his executor. The question now arose, did Phœbe go to William along with the other property? and if so, could he therefore compel her to render service to him by whip-

[1] Execution Laws, March 22, 1819. Statutes of Illinois, page 181; February 17, 1823, page 173.
Attachment Laws, January 24, 1827, page 76; on slaves.

[2] Statutes of Illinois, 1827. Act on Revenue, page 331, levies tax of one-half per cent on all property.

[3] Cases of Bailey vs. Cromwell et al., 1840, (July Term) 3 Scammon, 71 Supreme Court Decisions. Kinney vs. Cook, 1840 (December Term), 3 Scammon 232. Sarah vs. Borders, 1843 (December Term) 4 Scammon, 341.

[4] Breeze, page 268.

ping or other punishment? In order to settle the question it was necessary first for the Court to give its opinion on the right to hold indentured servants under the laws and Constitution of Illinois—a point it had thus far carefully avoided. In rendering the opinion Justice Lockwood [1] began by declaring that the Act of 1807 was void, being repugnant to the 6th Article of the Ordinance of 1787. In support of this claim he said, "I conceive that it would be an insult to common sense to contend that the negro, under the circumstances in which he is placed, had any free agency. The only choice given him was a choice of evils. On either hand, servitude was to be his lot. The terms proposed were, slavery for a period of years, generally extending beyond the probable duration of his life, or a return to a perpetual slavery in the place from whence he was brought. The indenturing was in effect an *involuntary* servitude for a period of years, and was void, being in violation of the Ordinance." [2]

But he went on to prove that indentures contracted under that law were made valid by the 3d section of Article VI. of the Constitution of 1818, on the ground that a Constitution can do what is impossible for a legislative act to accomplish.[3]

Then he proceeded to show that the Ordinance of 1787 was no longer binding on the people of Illinois, because the parties to it had abrogated it by "common consent." The people of Illinois had abrogated it, by consenting to indentures in their Constitution of 1818; and Congress had abrogated it by accepting the same Constitution when the State applied for admittance to the Union.

[1] It is interesting to note that this Judge Samuel J. Lockwood was one of the leaders in the antislavery movement in this State in 1823-1824 against the Conventionists.

[2] Breeze, page 270.

[3] Breeze, page 271.

It was also demonstrated in the argument on this case that, in the event of the death of a master, his servants were not free; nor did they descend to his heirs or heirs at law; but they must pass into the hands of the deceased's legatees, executors, or administrators. The administrator, however, had no power to compel the servant or servants to perform services; but he was to hold them in custody merely, until their terms of service could be sold. Thus the Supreme Court supported the Legislature in declaring the holding of indentured slaves legal, and thereby fastened the fetters more securely on the negro. Still it was an advance to have the bequeathing of negroes by will forbidden.

There was no law on the subject, and therefore people had handed down their servants to their children or other relatives as they saw fit. Till then there had been no chance of the negro escaping from the full term of his indenture. This decision gave him at least one loophole of escape. Some one charitably inclined might buy him at the administrator's sale and set him free immediately, or after a very short term of service. Yet, in the main, these were all false hopes. Nothing of great or lasting value could be expected from such a decision.

It was not until the year 1836 that the first decisive step was made toward freeing the colored people from unjust legislation. In that year it was first insisted upon by the Supreme Court that all indentures not made in strict conformity with that portion of the act of 1807 embodied in the Constitution of 1818 were illegal, and that service under them could not be enforced. This meant that all negroes who were not registered or indentured within thirty days after being brought into the State

could not be held to service, and would therefore become free through continued residence in the State.[1] We shall soon see how this latter point was confirmed by the judges of the Circuit Court six years later.

Another important decision of 1836 was that in the case of Boon vs. Juliet.[2] This was a question of the right of Boon to the services of the children of a colored woman, named Juliet. Juliet had been registered in Randolph County on July 20, 1808, by one Gaston. In course of time she had been sold by the Gastons to the Boons, and had finally served out her time. She had, however, three children—Peter, Harrison, and Enoch—two of whom were born before 1818 and one since that date. Bennington Boon claimed the right to the services of these children for some years yet, under the Act of 1807 and of the proviso attached to section three, Article VI., of the Constitution of 1818. The Court decided that the children of negroes registered under the Territorial laws of Indiana and Illinois were unquestionably free. Justice Smith, who rendered the opinion of the Court, affirmed that the law of 1807 did not refer to registered negroes, but only to indentured servants, and that the proviso of section three, Article VI., of the Constitution did not necessarily make the persons therein named subject to slavery; for a proviso in law is intended to qualify the section preceding it; and this one was purposed as a mere limitation on the imagined right, by inference from the law of 1807, of the master to the services of their children. In other words, it was intended

[1] Choisser vs. Barney Hargrave, 1 Scammon, p. 337. Barney Hargrave had been brought into Illinois in 1816, or before, and was not registered as an indentured servant until August 15, 1818. Barney was sold by his first master, Willis Hargrave, of Gallatin County, to A. S. Wright, and by the latter to John Choisser.

[2] 1 Scammon, page 258.

by the framers of the Constitution that the children of indentured servants should not be generally held as slaves, but where masters possessed any legal right to hold such children in their service, by mutual agreement or otherwise, the term of servitude should not extend beyond the twenty-first birthday in the case of males, and the eighteenth in the case of females.

The importance of this decision is at once apparent, when we remember that the larger proportion of the younger slaves were the offspring of negroes who had been indentured under these Territorial laws. It is most difficult to determine at present just how many received their freedom through this act of the Supreme Court, but the number must have been considerable.[1]

In the years 1840 and 1841 it was established, in the cases of Bailey vs. Cromwell[2] and Kinney vs. Cook,[3] that "the presumption of the law in Illinois is that every person is free without regard to color," and "the sale of a free person is illegal." Thus the selling of indentured servants was rendered illegal. This decision, as well as that rendered in the case of Phœbe vs. Jay, was confirmed in the case of Sarah vs. Borders,[4] which came before the Supreme Court in its December term, 1843. This celebrated case shows so well the feeling between slavery and antislavery men at the time, as well as the great difficulties in getting such a case a fair trial in the lower

[1] The United States Census for 1830 places the number of slaves in Illinois at 747, while that of 1840 reports only 184. This, if correct, would give the remarkable decrease of 563 in ten years, or about 75 per cent. There seems to be an error in the returns for 1840, however. Messrs. Bailhache and Company, editors of the "Alton Telegraph," in their "Tabular Statement," published in February, 1841, give the number of slaves as 300. This "Tabular Statement" was compiled from the returns made by J A. Townsend for the United States Marshal. This would make the decrease in slaves held for the decade 1830-40 nearer 60 per cent than 75 per cent. This was not all due to the decision in the case of Boone vs. Juliet. The granting of freedom papers, the expiration of indentures, the kidnapping of colored servants, and ravages of death all played a part in this lessening of the number of slaves held.

[2] 3 Scammon, page 71. [3] 3 Scammon, page 232. [4] 4 Scammon, page 341.

courts and in carrying it safely to the superior courts for final judgment, that the history of it should be related in full.

In the early forties Andrew Borders,[1] a man well known for his cruelty and rapacity, was living near Eden in Randolph County. He possessed several negro servants, to whom he clung with all the determination and passion of a true Southerner. Two of his colored women, feeling entitled to their freedom, and anxious to escape the cruelty of their master, left him, and with three children made their way northward. One of these women was named Sarah Borders, and was the mother of the three young negroes.

The party proceeded in security, aided by persons here and there, who were known as "friends of the negro," until they reached French Creek in Peoria County. Here they were given a temporary home at the house of John Cross, a well-known abolitionist. They had been in the house only a few days when a party of men, led by a justice of peace, named Jacob Knightlinger, appeared, who carried them off per force and lodged them in the county jail at Knoxville. This was in the latter part of September, 1842.

The negroes were treated as fugitive slaves. Their arrest was advertised by the County Sheriff, and it was expected that they would be sold at auction if their master did not put in a claim for them. The two women claimed to be free, and the sympathy of all the antislavery residents of the region was aroused in their favor. The

[1] For authorities in the details of Borders's case, see "Western Citizen," July 6, 1843, letter dated Galesburg, June 23, 1843, and signed "Liberty." "Western Citizen," February 22, 1844, article on the three cases of Borders, Eells, and Willard. "Western Citizen," July 8, 1844, letter from J. Cross. "Western Citizen," September 23, 1842, letter from J. Cross; letter from Galesburg, Eden, etc., in "Western Citizen," October 7, 28, and December 23, 1842; also 4 Scammon, page 341.

abolitionists made the quarters of the negroes in the jail as comfortable as possible, and exerted themselves to the utmost to secure their freedom.

As soon as Mr. Borders's representative appeared with papers claiming the fugitives, the case was hurriedly brought before a justice of peace, who declared that both the women and the children were entitled to their freedom. But Borders's lawyer appealed the case immediately to the County Court, at the same time bringing suits against the abolitionists who had aided the negroes, for seizing and carrying off the property of Mr. Borders.

The trial soon came off in the midst of considerable excitement, there being many persons who sympathized with Borders, as well as antislavery partisans who sustained the negroes. Borders won his suits, and even succeeded in getting a verdict against the first justice who heard the case, for detaining Borders's papers from Monday till Saturday before deciding the suit. Then the abolitionists appealed the matter to the Circuit Court, which was to be held the following June (1843) at Galesburg, Knox County, by the Honorable Jesse B. Thomas.

Here again both parties made strenuous efforts. Mr. Cross was his own counsel, defending himself and the negroes vigorously. Mr. Borders's agent exerted himself not only to win his suits, but also to punish the abolitionists for interfering in Borders's affairs. The abolitionists claim that he bribed a number of the officials, packed the jury with slavery sympathizers, and brought up from Randolph County a barrel of peach brandy, which was presented to the sheriff for the use of the Court and its officials.

The old man was again successful in getting his right to the children sanctioned, in spite of testimony by men

from Randolph County that Hannah had been kept eighteen months over time. The cases for trespass and carrying off of the negroes were dismissed by the Court, since the jury found no cause for action; and the right of the two women to their freedom was confirmed. In addition, Borders's desire for revenge was somewhat appeased, when the jury found bills of indictment on trumped-up charges against some of the men who had clothed, fed, and protected the colored children.[1]

However, the "friends of the slave" were not discouraged. In junction with other antislavery men in Eden, a suit was brought against Borders in Randolph County, for holding negroes in service after the time set by law had expired. Borders was again successful, and finally the case was appealed, and came up before the Supreme Court in the December term, 1843. Lyman Trumbull and Gustave Koerner were the attorneys for the plaintiff. They made an able and exhaustive argument to prove that the holding of negroes as servants or slaves in Illinois was illegal, being contrary to the Ordinance of 1787, which they asserted was still binding. They were not able to convince a majority of the judges of the correctness of their argument, and the Court expressed itself, through Judges Scates and Thomas, as fully in sympathy with the argument and position of the court in the case of Phœbe vs. Jay, and rendered its verdict accordingly.

This decision excited much criticism throughout the State, especially from the antislavery men. The Court was accused of corruption, and of subserviency to the slave power, and its opinion was a matter of great disappointment to many who had earnestly hoped that the Court

[1] One was sentenced for beating his wife, and another for misapplying the funds of the School Board of Galesburg, of which he was a member.

would declare the holding of negro indentured servants illegal.

In the year 1842 two cases came up before the Circuit Court of Sangamon District, which show the increasing tendency among the ranks of the judiciary (that had already manifested itself prominently among the inhabitants of central and northern Illinois) to give the negro full legal protection and justice. The first was the case of the negro Daniel, who had been arrested and committed to jail in Springfield for having no freedom papers. This was in accordance with the law passed on the 17th of January, 1829, which provided, as we have seen, that every black person found in the State without freedom papers should be arrested, and after six weeks' notice should, by the sheriff of the county, be hired out by the month. Daniel, by the help of friends, secured a writ of habeas corpus, and had his case brought before Judge Treat. The judge declared that the act of 1829 was unconstitutional, and that Daniel was entitled to his freedom, which was granted to him.[1]

The second case was that of James Foster,[2] a colored man, who had been living in Springfield during the two or three years previous to that time. A citizen of Arkansas suddenly appeared, claimed Foster as his slave, and demanded him in accordance with the act of Congress regarding fugitive slaves. The matter was brought before Judge Treat for adjudication. He required the slaveholder to prove the negro was his property "by disinterested witnesses," before he would surrender the slave to

[1] "Sangamon Journal," February 18, 1842; "Genius of Liberty," February 26, 1842.

[2] This was confirmed later (1849, December term) by the Supreme Court, in "Thornton's Case," 11 Illinois (Supreme Court Decisions), page 332; and in 1853 by Judge Skinner in the case of a negro arrested under a similar charge in Adams County. "Free West," December 8, 1853.

his supposed master. This, as Mr. Lundy has already pointed out,[1] was in excess of the requirements of the act of Congress, which only stipulated that the slaveholder or his agent should make an affidavit of the identity of the person claimed. Yet it was a step in the right direction, because to white men all negroes look alike, and the practice of kidnapping negroes had become so prevalent that the most stringent regulations were needed to protect the free blacks in Illinois.

The early forties were, too, the period of another series of lawsuits which finally accrued to the advantage of the negro from still another point of view. These were the direct outcome of the Act of 1829, concerning runaway slaves, which imposed a penalty of five hundred dollars for harboring a negro not possessing a certificate of freedom; for the agents of Southern slaveholders and their sympathizers in Illinois were not slow in getting out indictments against such antislavery men as dared to aid a fugitive black.[2]

The first of the cases which arose under that law was that of Owen Lovejoy, who was tried for the supposed harboring of a negro woman named Nancy, by the District Court of Bureau County, on October 5, 6, and 7, 1843.[3] Mr. Purple, a lawyer of Peoria, and a strong opponent of abolitionism, had gotten out a warrant against Mr. Lovejoy for "keeping in his house, feeding, clothing, and comforting the said Nancy," and also a negress named Agnes. The case was first tried before the County Court of Bureau County in May, 1843, where Purple seems to have been victorious. In October it

[1] "Genius of Liberty," February 26, 1842.

[2] Illinois Statutes, 1829, January 17, Sec. 1 and 2, and Revised Statutes, 1845, Sec. 5, Chapter 74, $500 penalty for harboring a negro without freedom papers.

[3] For good but slightly partisan account, see "Western Citizen," July 13, August 3, October 19 and 26, 1843.

was carried to the Circuit Court of the same county, and tried before Judge Caton. There was much interest manifested in the affair. The excitement in Princeton was considerable, and the court-room was packed. The Honorable James H. Collins was the counsel for Lovejoy, and made a telling speech of seven hours' length in defense of his client. Mr. Lovejoy was fully acquitted of the charges. Since Mr. Lovejoy and Mr. Collins were both abolitionists, this acquittal was considered a great triumph for the antislavery element, and was duly celebrated as such in all antislavery papers and gatherings.

In his charge to the jury, while declining to pass judgment on the constitutionality of the law under which the case was tried, Judge Caton made the following remarkable interpretation of the effect of residence in a free territory upon an escaped slave. He said: "The right to property in a slave is not one of those natural rights which necessarily and spontaneously result from the organization of society, like the right to property in animals, in fruits of agriculture, minerals, or the like, which are found by accident or produced by toil; but slavery can only exist either in the statute laws, the common laws, or by custom. It is necessary, however, to be shown to exist in some of these forms in the State, District, or Territory where the supposed slave was held in bondage, before it is possible to show legally the relation of master and slaves." It was therefore necessary for the jury to find this evidence and the residence of the master of Nancy, before Lovejoy could be legally convicted.

Still, as regards Illinois, Judge Caton continued: "By the Constitution of this State, slavery cannot exist here. If, therefore, a master voluntarily bring his slave within the State, he becomes from that moment free, and if he

escape from his master while in this State, it is not an escape from slavery, but it is going where a free man has a right to go; and the harboring of such a person is no offense against our law; but the tie which binds a slave to his master can be severed only by the voluntary act of the latter."[1] If the slave comes in with the consent of the master he always belongs to the master, no matter where he may go.[2]

This is the first instance where the courts of Illinois declared that residence in a free Territory entitled a slave to his freedom.[3] This opinion was confirmed by the Supreme Court of the State in Jarrot vs. Jarrot, in 1845,[4] and reaffirmed by Judges Wilson and Treat in the October term, 1847, of the Coles County Circuit Court, in the case of General Matteson.[5] Its effect upon the holding of indentured servants in Illinois, we shall soon see, was most important.

In the same term (December, 1843) that the Supreme Court of Illinois rendered its decision in Sarah Borders's case, it gave judgment in two other cases which excited great public comment, and had an important bearing upon the question of fugitive slaves and the rights of their masters to retain them.

The first of these was the case of Richard Eells of Quincy. This came up from Adams County, where

[1] "Western Citizen," October 26, 1843.

[2] This last was in accordance with the Constitution and Laws of the United States and the Laws of the State from which the slave came.

[3] The Supreme Courts of other States had already rendered similar decisions: Mississippi, 1818, Harvey vs. Dacker, Miss. R. 36, (Supreme Court Decisions). Louisiana, 1830, Merry vs. Chexnaider, 20 Martin 699 (Supreme Court Decisions). Indiana, 1820, Indiana vs. Lasalle, 1 Blackf. 60 (Supreme Court Decisions). Missouri, Winny vs. Whiteside, 1 Mo. 72 (Supreme Court Decisions). Missouri, 1827, Merry vs. Tiffen, 1 Mo. 725 (Supreme Court Decisions).

[4] 2 Gilmore 1, (Supreme Court Decisions).

[5] "Coles County Globe" for October, 1847; "Charleston Globe" for October, 1847; and "Western Citizen," September 7, November 16, and December 18, 1847.

Eells had been tried for secreting a runaway slave, before the Circuit Court, over which the Honorable Stephen A. Douglas presided. The judgment had been adverse to Dr. Eells, and he had been fined four hundred dollars for the offense.[1] The Supreme Court then reviewed the case and confirmed the opinion of the lower court.

The following points were brought out by Judge Shields, who rendered the opinion of the bench. A State has the right to legislate upon the subject of fugitive slaves; it may even prohibit the introduction of negro slaves into its territory, and punish its citizens who introduce them; but no State can pass a law which will interfere with the right of the master to his slave, or in any other way infringe upon that portion of the subject covered by the "Fugitive Slave Laws," passed by the Congress of the United States. To secrete a slave is an attempt to defraud its owner of his property, and so much of section 149 of the Criminal Code[2] of Illinois as provides for punishing any person who shall secrete a negro slave is not in conflict with the third paragraph of section 2, of Article IV. of the Constitution of the United States; nor does it interfere with the remedy provided by Congress for the recovery of the slave, or the mode of prosecuting that remedy.[3] Here again the latter portion of the charge to the jury by Judge Caton in the Lovejoy case was maintained, namely, that the escaping of a slave to free territory did not make him free, but he remained still, wherever he might go, the property of his master. He might be claimed by his owner at any time, and any person who should assist or secrete such a slave rendered himself liable to arrest and punishment under the State laws.

[1] "Western Citizen," February 22, 1844.
[2] Same as in law of 1829, referred to above.
[3] 4 Scammon, page 498, Richard Eells vs. The People.

The other case was that of Julius A. Willard vs. The People.[1] Willard was an abolitionist who lived in Jacksonville. He had been indicted in the Morgan County Circuit Court and fined twenty dollars and costs by Judge Lockwood for hiding a runaway negro woman. This slave belonged to a Mrs. Leslie, of Louisiana, who had voluntarily brought her negro serving woman with her into the State and had resided for a short time in Jacksonville. When Mrs. Leslie was proceeding towards Missouri (St. Louis) on her homeward journey, the negress escaped from her mistress. Willard aided in her escape, but a number of the proslavery citizens of the region joined in the pursuit, overtook the fugitives, and returned the girl to her mistress.[2]

The Supreme Court affirmed the judgment of the lower court, and through Judge Scates, expressed the opinion that, "A slaveholder has a perfect right to pass through Illinois with his slaves, and comity between the States will protect him in regarding the slaves as such, while within our limits."[3] Here we see that the Supreme Court was not quite ready or willing to take the position of Judge Caton in the Lovejoy case, that the voluntary bringing of slaves into the State makes them free, but makes a distinction between temporary and permanent residence. These two decisions, together with that in the Sarah Borders case, aroused intense feelings and severe criticism over the State. The abolitionists did not hesitate to condemn the action of the court in outspoken language and accuse the judges of proslavery sympathies.[4]

[1] 4 Scammon, page 461.

[2] See full account in Willard's letter to Eastman in "Western Citizen," August 24, 1843, and February 22, 1844.

[3] 4 Scammon, page 461.

[4] "Western Citizen," February 22, 1844. The "Western Citizen," too, in speaking of the decision in the Jarrot case, a year later, said, "Hitherto the

The "Alton Telegraph"[1] spoke of the decision in the Willard case as "in direct conflict with the decisions made upon the same question in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, and what is regarded *now* as the settled law of the land. The only distinction that was or could be drawn between the cases is, that in Illinois slavery to a certain extent exists under our Constitution and laws."[2]

The correspondent of the "Chicago Express,"[3] who doubtless voiced the sentiment of a large proportion of the conservative citizens of the States, comments on all the cases as follows: "Is it not passing strange that the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois should be called upon to decide whether slavery exists in the State? . . . . If slavery exists in this State, either under the name of apprenticeship, indentured servants, or French slaves, I think it is high time to amend the Constitution."[4] Referring especially to the cases of Eells and Willard, he adds that they were "a solemn warning to abolitionists to mind their own business."

All citizens of the State who sympathized with the Southern slaveholders, or who, while opposed to the system of slavery, looked with disapproval upon the theories and acts of the abolitionists, doubtless agreed with the correspondent of the "Express," and thought that these decisions would serve as an effectual check upon the efforts of those antislavery enthusiasts to assist escaping negroes to a safe retreat. But the contrary result occurred. The Putnam County Antislavery Society passed

Supreme Court has uniformly decided against freedom when slavery was concerned; and no tribunal has ever been more servile or subservient to the slave power than this Court." "Western Citizen," February 17, 1845.

[1] A Whig paper, but antislavery in its sympathies.

[2] "Alton Telegraph," February 3, 1844.

[3] A Democratic paper opposed both to slavery and abolitionism.

[4] "Chicago Express," February 20. Quoted also in "Western Citizen," February 22, 1844.

a resolution to the effect that "we are fully determined to protect the fugitives."[1] The Illinois Antislavery Society, at its sixth anniversary, held in Chicago, June 7, 1843, elected Richard Eells president for the ensuing year, and took the ground, in one of its Resolutions, that by the Constitution of the United States, free States are not bound to deliver up fugitives,[2] and at the seventh anniversary of the same society, held at Peoria, in June, 1844, the executive committee made a full report of all the important fugitive slave cases during the year that had just passed, praised the conduct of Lovejoy, Eells, and Willard, criticised the decisions of the Supreme Court, and urged the right and justice of assisting all negroes to escape from bondage.[3]

In addition, assistance was rendered to fugitive negroes, even more energetically than before, not only by abolitionists, but also by some of those who were merely antislavery in sentiment,[4] and the "Western Citizen" took pains to herald the escape of every negro as a triumph for justice and righteousness.[5]

The indignation which the decisions in the Eells and Willard cases had aroused in the abolition camp was before long almost completely allayed by the decision in Jarrot vs. Jarrot.[6] This was the case of a so-called French slave, named Joseph Jarrot, alias Pete, who, claiming to be free, sued his mistress, Julia Jarrot, of Cohokia, for pay for his past services.

[1] "Western Citizen," February 23, 1843.
[2] "Western Citizen," June 15, 1843.
[3] "Western Citizen," June 20, 1843.
[4] See cases reported in "Western Citizen" on April 6, 1843, November 2, 1843 (Mendon); February 20, 1845 (Eden); March 6, 1845 (Bristol); November 3, 1846 (Chicago); November 23, 1847 (Bristol); January 18, 1847 (Morgan County); November 22, 1850 (Chicago and Quincy); June 10, 1851 (Chicago).
[5] See the files of the "Western Citizen" for the years 1844-1851, and the advertisement of the Underground Railway in that paper, July 18, 1844.
[6] 2 Gilman, 1. (Supreme Court Decisions.)

Pelagie, his mother, was bought (at four years of age) together with her mother, Angelique, by Nicholas Jarrot, of Cohokia, from one Le Brun, in 1798. Angelique, the grandmother of Joseph, had been owned and held as a slave by the father-in-law of Le Brun, one Joseph Trotier, before the United States got possession of the Illinois Country. Joseph Jarrot, who was therefore a descendant of a typical French slave, was bequeathed in the will of Nicholas Jarrot, dated February 6, 1818, to Julia Jarrot, the appellee.

The case was first tried in the Circuit Court of St. Clair County, in 1843, before Judge Shields and jury, when it was decided that a slave could not sue his master for wages.[1] The Supreme Court, however, reversed this in 1844, declaring that "a colored person may maintain an action of assumpsit for services rendered, and in such action his right to freedom may be tried."[2]

The court then heard the case and declared that "the descendants of the slaves of the old French settlers, born since the Ordinance of 1787, and before or since the adoption of the Constitution of Illinois, cannot be held in slavery in this State."[3] This decision was based almost entirely upon the previous judgments of the Supreme Courts of Louisiana, Mississippi, Indiana, and Missouri, affirming that the "deed of cession by Virginia did not deprive Congress of the power to pass the sixth article of the Ordinance of 1787,"[4] and that residence in a free territory, when the master voluntarily settled

[1] "Western Citizen," February 17, 1845, and "Chicago Journal," February 1, 1845.

[2] 2 Gilman, 1.

[3] 2 Gilman, 1. Judges Treat, Thomas, and Shields dissenting.

[4] Supreme Court Decisions of Louisiana; 20 Martin, 699. Merry vs. Chexnaider; tried in 1830.

with his slaves, entitled such negro servants to their freedom.[1]

The effect of this decision was most fortunate for the negro. It not only admitted him to the right to sue (for his freedom) in the courts, but it practically rendered the holding of any negro indentured servants within the State illegal. For if Illinois was a free State, and if residence within her boundaries, when voluntary on the master's part, entitled a slave to his freedom, it would then be impossible for any citizen of the State to hold an indentured negro for any length of time in his service. Such at least was the interpretation which both the press[2] and people of the State[3] put upon the judgment in this case of Jarrot vs. Jarrot, and it was welcomed as a great triumph by all antislavery men.

The Supreme Court Judges, Wilson and Treat, expressed a similar opinion two years later, in the case of General Robert Matteson. Matteson was a resident of Bourbon County, Kentucky, who had taken up a temporary residence for several years on a farm in Coles County, Illinois, where he had brought and kept for some two years a number of negro slaves. A negro woman named Jane, with her children, learning that Matteson was about to carry them back to Kentucky, left him and took refuge

[1] Supreme Court Decisions of Mississippi; Walker's Mississippi Reports, 36. Harvey vs. Dexter, 1818.
Supreme Court Decisions of Indiana; 1 Blackf., 60. Indiana vs. Lasalle, 1820.
Supreme Court Decisions of Missouri; 1 Missouri, 472. Winny vs. Whiteside.
Supreme Court Decisions of Missouri; 1 Missouri, 725. Merry vs. Tiffen and Menard, 1827.
Supreme Court Decisions of Missouri; 5 Peters, 510. Menard vs. Aspatia.

[2] The "Western Citizen," February 17, 1845, spoke of the event thus: "By this decision, it is said, the question is fully settled that Illinois is a free State. Several hundred persons, including descendants, we are told, have been held in slavery in the region of the country, now Illinois, for nearly 60 years."

[3] Mr. Benjamin W. West, a Southerner, still living at Belleville, Illinois, told me that his father and he held their slaves, which had been brought by his father from Virginia, in their service until the decision had been rendered in the Jarrot case.

in a little settlement of antislavery Presbyterians near by. They were eventually arrested as fugitive slaves, and through the influence of interested abolitionists the case was carried to the Circuit Court of Coles County in October, 1847. Here it was decided that, by reason of residence in the free State of Illinois, Jane and her children were entitled to their freedom.[1] It was now no longer to be doubted that the Supreme Court would remain consistently of the same mind as in the Jarrot case.

A few more minor cases and the great problems of slavery and of fugitive slaves were definitely settled, as far as the courts were concerned. In 1849 the Supreme Court decided, in Thornton's case,[2] that sections 5 and 6 of Chapter 74 of the Revised Statutes of 1845 [or the old law of January 17, 1829, wherein it was provided that fugitive slaves would not be allowed to sue for freedom in the State, but should be sent back to their masters, or sold out to labor[3]] were unconstitutional,[2] being in direct conflict with the provisions made by the Congress[4] for the capture and return of runaway slaves.

In the November term of the Supreme Court in 1852, the interesting case of Hone vs. Ammons[5] was decided. Hone, claiming the ownership of a negro who was at the time at large somewhere in Illinois, transferred by a note the said negro to Ammons, a citizen of Illinois, in payment of some obligation due the said Ammons. The negro was not to be found, and Ammons sued Hone for his

[1] "Coles County Globe" for October; "Charleston (Ill.) Globe" for October; "Western Citizen," September 7 and November 16, 1847.

[2] 11 Illinois, 332; reaffirmed by Judge Skinner in Adams County Circuit Court in 1853; "Free West," December 8, 1853.

[3] Revised Statutes 1845, Chapter 74, Sections 5 and 6; and Laws of 1829, Act Concerning Negroes, etc., Sections 2 and 4.

[4] Act of Congress, passed February 12, 1793.

[5] 14 Illinois, 29.

money.[1] The Supreme Court rendered the judgment that "a contract made in Illinois for the sale of a person as a slave who is in the State at the time, and to a citizen of the State, is illegal and void."[2]

Still another phase was touched upon in the case of Rodney vs. Illinois Central Railway Company,[3] where the effect of the laws of States from which fugitives should escape, upon the condition of the negro in Illinois, was discussed and settled. This case came before the Supreme Court in November, 1857, and the court was of the opinion that the laws of other States recognizing slavery cannot affect the condition of a fugitive in Illinois, so as to give his owner any property in or control over him.[4]

In February, 1853, the Legislature of Illinois passed a law forbidding free negroes to come into the State under a penalty of a fifty-dollar fine, or sale by county sheriff to whosoever would pay the fine and costs of the arrest and sentence.[5] It was some years before a test case came up under this act. Finally, in January, 1864, the question was decided in Nelson vs. The People,[6] and the Supreme Court gave its verdict that the sale of a negro under the Act of February 12, 1853, does not reduce him to slavery. This is the last word of the Supreme Court of Illinois on the subject of slaveholding, or the much-mooted question of fugitive negroes within the State.

The Legislature had its last word a year later, when it finally arose to the occasion and wiped out from the Stat-

[1] 14 Illinois, 29.
[2] 14 Illinois, 29.
[3] 19 Illinois, 43.
[4] Rodney vs. Illinois Central R. R. Co., 19 Illinois, 43. Opinion read by Judge Skinner.
[5] Laws of 1853, February 12. "An Act to prevent the immigration of free negroes into this State." Sections 1-9.
[6] See 33 Illinois, 390.

ute books the infamous "Black Laws."[1] They had been legally in force in the State for forty-six years, in spite of all petitions to the Legislature and attempts to have them repealed, and their final erasure was an outcome of the struggle of 1861–1865 between the North and the South. On the other hand, the Supreme Court, although cases were heard on the subject during a period of forty-five years, practically decided the question of slaveholding in Illinois in 1845, in Jarrot vs. Jarrot, or at the end of twenty-six years.

The abolitionists have accused the Supreme Court of subserviency to the "Slave Power." It is, indeed, practically impossible to prove such an accusation to be true, but it is a fact that several judges who sat upon its bench were proslavery in their sympathies. Such were Theophilus W. Smith, Judge McLean, Sidney Breeze, and Jesse B. Thomas, all of whom were Conventionists in 1823–1824. It may be true, and doubtless is, that the general feeling in the State on the slavery question was reflected somewhat in the members of its Supreme Court; and as the universal sentiment changed, the sympathies of the judges experienced a like alteration.

When the State as a whole felt little or no interest in the condition of the indentured negroes, the court had no incentive to declare illegal a time-honored custom which some of its members even were practising.[2] But when the cry for universal freedom began to shake the State from end to end, it was impossible for the judges to remain longer uninfluenced by popular sentiment. So up

[1] See Acts of 1865, February 7; "An Act to repeal Section 16 of Division III., Chapters 30 and 72."

[2] Randolph County Records show Jesse B. Thomas as registering three negroes—Fanny, aged 20, on January 27, 1809; Abigail, aged 28, on August 12, 1813; and James, aged 27, on June 21, 1814. The first was to serve 11 years and 6 months, and the last two 30 years. The same Records show Sidney Breeze in possession of a negro woman and her infant son as late as August 11, 1826.

to 1836 we see that all the decisions rendered were protective of the indenture system, while the majority of those rendered afterwards were destructive of it, in tendency, and after Jarrot vs. Jarrot, in 1845, every judgment is on the side of antislavery.

The period of greatest struggle, however, and of greatest triumph for the antislavery advocates, was that from 1840 to 1845. The contest during these five years was serious and stubbornly carried on. It involved talent, ingenuity, determination, and perseverance on both sides. The abolitionists are to be accredited with stirring up considerable interest over the State in some of the cases. Southern sympathizers and the holders of indentured servants in the southern portion of the State were naturally considerably concerned in the decisions of the Supreme Court. Still there seems to have been no widespread interest or universal agitation in the State over this contest in the courts. It was carried on chiefly through the benevolence of a comparatively small number of citizens who were actuated by a firm belief in the evils of slavery; while the brunt of the fray fell to a few able and devoted lawyers.

Among these were W. T. M. Davis of Alton, Nathaniel Niles of Belleville, Gustav Koerner of Belleville, and Lyman Trumbull. James H. Collins, a noted abolition lawyer of Chicago, should also be highly praised for his work in the Lovejoy and Willard cases, but to the other men the real victory is to be ascribed. They were the most powerful friends of the negro, and lived where their assistance could be readily secured. They told the negroes repeatedly that they were free, urged them to leave their masters, and fought their cases in the lower courts time and time again, often without fees or remuner-

ation. Chief among them was Lyman Trumbull, whose name should be written large in antislavery annals.

He was a lawyer of rare intellectual endowments, and of great ability. He had few equals before the bar in his day. In politics he was an old-time Democrat, with no leanings toward abolitionism, but possessing an honest desire to see justice done the negro in Illinois. It was a thankless task in those days of prejudice and bitter partisan feeling to assume the rôle of defender of the indentured slaves. It was not often unattended with great risk to one's person,[1] as well as to one's reputation and business. But Trumbull did not hesitate to undertake the task, thankless, discouraging, unremunerative as it was, and to his zeal, courage, and perseverance, as well as to his ability, is to be ascribed the ultimate success of the appeal to the Supreme Court.

This disinterested and able effort, made in all sincerity of purpose, and void of all appearance of self-elevation, rendered him justly popular throughout the State, as well as in the region of his home. The people of his district showed their approval of his work and their confidence in his integrity by electing him Judge of the Supreme Court in 1848, and Congressman from the Eighth District of Illinois by a handsome majority in 1854, when it was well known that he was opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.[2]

[1] See case of attack on Mr. Whitehead, a lawyer, of St. Louis, who was defending a negro in a lawsuit at Kaskaskia, Illinois. "Genius of Liberty," October 2, 1841. The account of the treatment of Whitehead as given in the "Genius of Liberty" seems to have been somewhat overdrawn, according to the "Alton Telegraph" for September and October, 1841.

[2] "Free West," December 21, 1854, and all the papers of the State for the same month. In 1855 Trumbull was elected United States Senator.

CHAPTER IX.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE ANTISLAVERY AGITATION.

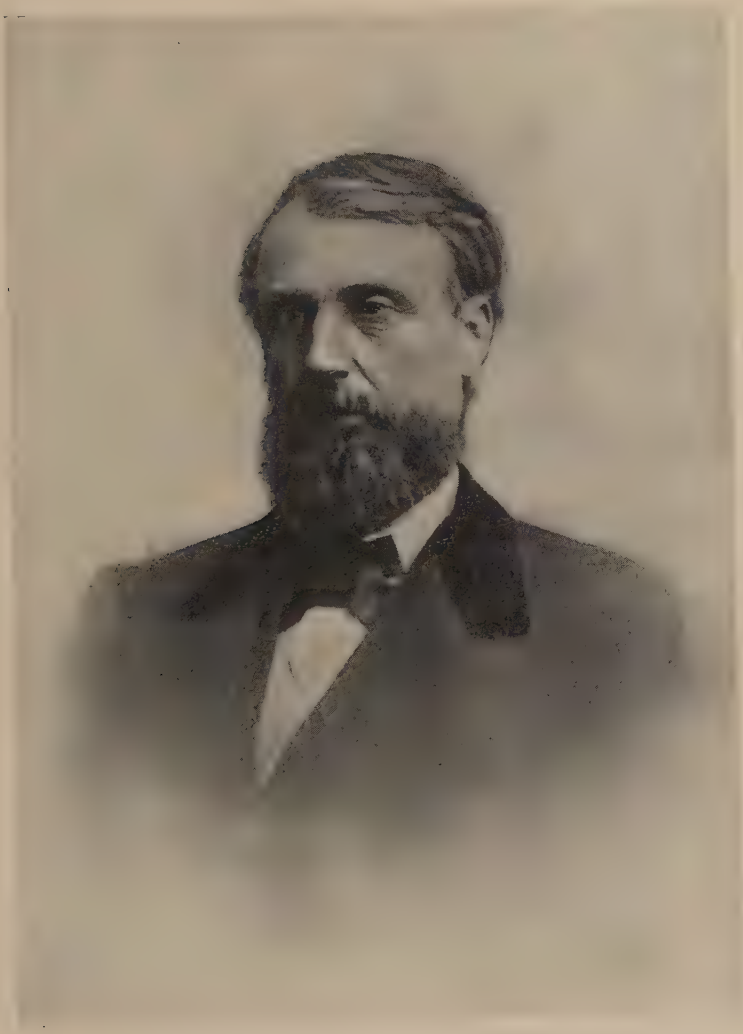
The contest for a convention in 1823–1824 was neither a real nor a typical slavery contest—that is, one concerning that subject *per se*. There was no thought or discussion regarding the existence of the indentured slaves within the State. It was simply and solely a question whether Illinois should adopt completely the slavery system of the South. When this question had been once settled by the vote of the people, all discussion in the matter speedily ceased, as we have seen.

Occasional antislavery articles continued to appear in Warren's "Spectator," as long as it was issued in Illinois.[1] This paper soon went out of existence, and for the next ten years there was no paper in the State that defended the rights of the negro. No special attention was given to the subject by the other papers. Nor was there any general discussion of the subject attempted by any one until Elijah Lovejoy began to publish antislavery articles and editorials in the "Alton Observer."

During this time, copies of Lundy's "Genius of Universal Emancipation,"[2] Garrison's "Liberator,"[2] the "Emancipator,"[2] and the "Philanthropist"[2] of Cincinnati

[1] "Edwardsville Spectator," November 2, 1824; October, 1826.

[2] The "Genius of Universal Emancipation" was started in Ohio (Mt. Pleasant), January, 1821, and was the pioneer abolition journal in the United States. The "Liberator" began its career in Boston, in 1831, while the "Philanthropist" came into existence in Cincinnati in the early thirties. The "Emancipator" was started in New York, later Boston, in 1834, and ran till 1848.



ZEBINA EASTMAN

(*From Photograph in Possession of Hon. Sidney Eastman, Chicago*)

had been received in the State, and the seed of abolitionism sown. The "Liberator" and the "Philanthropist" had the largest circulations. All thinking men into whose hands such ably conducted papers fell could hardly fail to be moved by the earnest appeals of the antislavery writers. Here and there able and good men were won to the cause, but the abolition following was extremely small before 1836.

It remained for the "Alton Observer" to stimulate and unify the scattered elements, and for the first time, to create something like a general antislavery sentiment within the State. The paper had been running hardly a year before the effect of Mr. Lovejoy's work was apparent, and requests for the formation of a State antislavery society began to pour in upon him from various portions of Illinois. The final outcome, as has been shown, was the organization of the Illinois Antislavery Society, in October, 1837, at Upper Alton, with a membership of fifty-five.[1]

There were then five county societies in existence, only one of which—the Adams County Society—was founded before 1837.[2] These five societies—four county and one State—might be called Mr. Lovejoy's legacy to the abolition cause, for from this little nucleus were to come the antislavery agitation and the Abolition and Liberty organizations of the future.

After the death of Mr. Lovejoy there was a temporary cessation of effort on the part of the abolitionists. Those in Alton were either frightened or awed into silence,

[1] "Proceedings of the Antislavery Convention," 1837, page 5.

[2] The five were:
Adams County Antislavery Society, founded August, 1836.
Will County Antislavery Society, founded February, 1837.
Madison County Antislavery Society, founded August, 1837.
Putnam County Antislavery Society, founded July, 1837.
Jersey County Antislavery Society, founded in 1836.

and the feeling against them generally was known to be so great and so bitter, that they felt the necessity of proceeding for a time with great caution.

The "Observer" was reissued at Cincinnati in December, 1837, and continued with Elisha W. Chester as editor, until a lack of funds caused its suspension in April, 1838.[1]

After an unsuccessful attempt to raise the necessary capital, the enterprise was abandoned;[2] and the Illinois abolitionists had to resort once more to the columns of the "Philanthropist" and the "Emancipator."

The demand for a local paper continued, and in May Benjamin Lundy, who had lately been burnt out in Philadelphia,[3] was invited to come to Illinois with his press. It was thought that this "nonresistant" Quaker, well known for his prudence and moderation, was the only person whom the people of Illinois were likely to tolerate as an antislavery editor.[4] Yet precautions were deemed necessary, and his paper, the "Genius of Universal Emancipation," which now appeared to come from Hennepin, was actually printed in Lowell, Illinois. Its first issues were gotten out early in 1839, the second number bearing the date February 26, 1839.[5]

Mr. Lundy announced the policy of the journal to be "the advocacy of Free Discussion, the Total Abolition of Slavery, and the firm establishment of the Constitutional, inalienable, and universal Rights of Man. These

[1] See the numbers of the "Observer" from December 28, 1837, to April 19, 1838.

[2] Messrs. Beecher and Hale were sent out to collect money and subscriptions. Report of the executive committee in the "Genius of Universal Emancipation," February 26, 1839.

[3] On May 17, 1838. For an account, see Wilson's "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power," page 297.

[4] Report of the executive committee, dated October 3, 1838; see the "Genius," February 26, 1839.

[5] Number one is not now in existence. Numbers two to twelve, dated at Hennepin, may be seen at the Chicago Historical Society's Library. Lowell was the postoffice for the hamlet of Hennepin.

objects are sought to be accomplished by the promulgation of facts and arguments, by moral suasion, by appeals to the reason, justice, and reflection of the people and their representatives. A strict neutrality is observed with respect to the general doctrine and proceedings of religious sects and political parties, under the present organization."[1]

Such was the program laid down by this generous, conscientious, and noble-minded man, and which he carried out faithfully till the day of his death. His subscription list was very small, and the abolitionists of Illinois gave him almost no financial support. So Mr. Lundy—laboring often under great disadvantages and almost in poverty—had to publish the paper chiefly at his own expense.

Lowell was then a little village of hardly more than a dozen houses, lying on the banks of the sluggish Vermilion River. Lundy's printing "office" consisted of a one-room building about twelve feet square, and made of common plank set up edgeways. Here he worked and slept. His press was an "old iron half-pattern of Dr. Franklin's 'Ramage,' which had to be pulled twice to get an impression of one side of his little sheet." The type were worn down, battered with age and use, and filled with dried ink of bygone years. His paper was given him by Christian Donaldson of Cincinnati, but it was too small for his form, so that the columns had to be made over to fit it.

Mr. Lundy was not a practical printer, and suffered much at first from incompetent workmen, who finally deserted him, leaving him alone with his little boy and girl to get out the paper. At length Z. Eastman, accus-

[1] "Genius of Universal Emancipation," No. 2.

tomed to type-setting as well as to the duties of an editor, arrived. From the first Mr. Lundy seems to have reposed confidence in the young printer from the East. A strong friendship grew up between them, and Mr. Eastman remained in intimate association with Mr. Lundy in the publication of the "Genius" until Mr. Lundy's death, in August, 1839.[1]

Meanwhile the Illinois Antislavery Society was taking definite steps toward the organization of the abolition movement within the State. It held its first annual meeting in Farmington, in October, 1838, and chose officers and a board of managers for the ensuing year. Ninety-nine delegates were present, representing sixteen Illinois counties, and including two representatives from the Iowa and Wisconsin Territories. The Rev. Chauncey Cook was selected as a travelling agent for the society, and two thousand dollars was voted to meet the expenses of the coming year. The "Genius of Universal Emancipation" was adopted as the official organ of the society, and the executive committee was requested to evolve a plan for the promotion of the abolition work.[2]

The plan proposed involved the organization of antislavery societies in every county, which should be auxiliaries of the State society. They were to hold quarterly meetings, engage lecturers, circulate antislavery pamphlets and petitions to Congress, raise funds, and agitate the subject generally. In addition, district societies were to be formed in every town or neighborhood, which should hold their meetings monthly and work along the same

[1] Z. Eastman in "Early Abolitionism," article in the "Chicago Inter-Ocean," August 31, 1883; see also article on "Lundy," in the "Chicago Tribune," June 11, 1874; and an unpublished MS. on "History of Antislavery Reform."

[2] Minutes of the convention in the "Genius of Universal Emancipation," February 26, 1839.

lines as the county associations of which they were to be auxiliaries. Antislavery newspapers and almanacs were to be circulated as far as possible. Great stress was laid on individual effort, and finally, a model constitution for district societies was suggested by the committee in their plan.

Weak in numbers, deficient in effective organization and working facilities, cramped by great financial weakness, and faced on all sides by a stern opposition, the Illinois abolitionists labored on, hopefully and earnestly, to carry out during the year that followed—October, 1838, to October, 1839—the proposed scheme of organization and agitation. During that time three county and sixteen district societies were formed, nineteen in all. Of these, nine at least were formed directly by the agency of the Illinois Antislavery Society.[1] About three hundred and fifty members were added to the ranks of antislavery adherents. Of these, some two hundred and sixty were won over through the labors of the agent of the State society, Rev. Chauncey Cook.[2]

Mr. Cook travelled and lectured during May and June in the Rock River district and in Knox, Fulton, Peoria, and La Salle counties. His own description of his tour gives such a clear and interesting picture of the methods employed by the abolitionists and of the reception with which their doctrines were met in these different sections, that we quote it almost in full. "In my tour in the Rock River Country," writes Mr. Cook, "I visited eleven

[1] See file of "Genius of Universal Emancipation," February to September, 1839; county societies as follows:
LaSalle County Society, March 13, 1839.
Knox County Society, May 13, 1839.
Warren County Society, March 2, 1839.
And District Societies as follows: Lyndon, Delaware, Florid (M. E.), Hadley, Buffalo Grove, Daysville, Franklin, Bliss's Grove, Princeton, Rochester, Farmington, Canton, Galesburg, Indian Creek, Big Grove, and Libbon.

[2] Report in "Genius of Universal Emancipation," July 5, 1835; in Indian Creek, Big Grove, and Lisbon, 66; in other places, 200; total, 266.

towns, and delivered twenty lectures in the various places, generally to large and attentive audiences. A new antislavery society was formed at Buffalo Grove, and another at Daysville, while I was there. I found four respectable societies previously organized in that part of the State. Some collections were made for the State society in several places that I visited, viz., Lyndon, Buffalo Grove, Franklin, Daysville, Bliss's Grove, and Princeton. A formidable opposition to my labor was manifested at Dixon's Ferry, at the Rock River Rapids, Grand Detour, and at Oregon. All that appeared to be wanting in other places was light on the subject, to bring almost the whole population on the side of the oppressed.

"After my return . . . . I proceeded to the counties of Knox, Fulton, Peoria, etc. In this journey I visited eight towns and delivered seventeen lectures. I found one society at Rochester, in Peoria County, and another at Knoxville. At Farmington, Canton, and Galesburg I found societies already organized. I made some collections at each of these places, and also at Knoxville. Returning . . . . I performed a tour through LaSalle County. In that section I visited five towns and delivered fifteen lectures. I succeeded in organizing three societies, viz., one at Indian Creek, of about fifteen members; one at Big Grove, of twenty-five members; and one at Lisbon, of twenty-six members. I found no opposition, except at Ottawa. There the slave has a few genuine friends, but the mass of the people appear to wish that his bands shall remain unbroken. To the above I may add that about two hundred new members have joined the different antislavery societies, in the places I have cited."[1]

[1] "Genius of Universal Emancipation," July 5, 1839.

We see, then, that the work of this one man amounted to twenty-four towns visited, fifty-three lectures given, seven Antislavery Societies founded, and two hundred and sixty-six members added to the list of abolition followers. It is not likely that Mr. Cook's labors were limited to these two or three months, but no record has been preserved of any further work on his part that year.

In addition, the Putnam County society engaged the Reverend James H. Dickey, of Union Grove, to make a tour of several places in the northeastern counties. He endeavored by his lectures to awaken an interest in antislavery matters among the people and the churches there, but met with a very cold reception, the doors of the churches and school-houses being generally closed to him.[1]

These results were excellent for so short a period, and in the face of so many discouragements, and it would seem to have been a most praiseworthy exertion on the part of the State society to keep such an agent as Cook in the field. But, in fact, the society did not support him at all. He was sustained by such voluntary contributions as he was able to collect in the various cities and towns for the cause of freedom, in the name of the Illinois Antislavery Society. The society allowed him this privilege, being unable to pay for his services. The collections were paid sometimes in money, but more often in farm produce and in articles of trade.

This policy was pursued by the State association for several years, and as may well be imagined, the agents had a hard time to collect enough to live on.[2] Still it was a happy expedient for the society, since it had no ready means of raising funds for this work in any other way.

[1] "Genius of Liberty," December 4, 1841 (Letter of Dickey to Eastman).

[2] See "Genius of Universal Emancipation," 1839. "Genius of Liberty," 1840-1842: and "Western Citizen," 1842-1845.

It was thus enabled to have an agent and to be relieved, at the same time, of the necessity of raising funds for his salary. The agents were to be like Wallenstein's soldiers —self-supporting. There was this difference, however: Wallenstein's soldiers lived, for the most part, on their foes, while the abolition agents lived on their friends and patrons.

The greatest obstacle which the Illinois Antislavery Society had to overcome was the opposition, everywhere displayed, to the propagation of abolition doctrines. In many localities the subject of slavery, as a great moral and national evil, was a new topic; and people had not as yet begun seriously to think about it. In other regions public sentiment was strongly antagonistic to abolitionism, its methods, and its promoters. And in still other districts where the proslavery element was in the ascendant, the citizens refused to allow any slavery discussion whatever in their midst.

Mr. Lundy died, after a brief illness, on August 22, 1839, and the "Genius of Universal Emancipation," after being issued in several different States,[1] closed its career, on September 8 of the same year, in Illinois.[2] As early as July 5, the Putnam County Antislavery Society had urged the State society to assume the expense of publishing the "Genius,"[3] and the executive committee of the central organization had talked of it.[4] But nothing had been done, and on the death of Mr. Lundy, it stopped for lack of support.

[1] It had been printed at Mt. Pleasant, O.; Jonesboro, Tenn.; Baltimore, Washington, and Philadelphia. For an account of the life and travels of Mr. Lundy, see "Life, Travels, and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy," Philadelphia, 1847.

[2] After August 21, it was continued by Mr. Eastman at the request of the subscribers.

[3] "Genius of Universal Emancipation," July 12, 1839.

[4] "Genius of Universal Emancipation," July 26, 1839.

For over a year Illinois remained without a local antislavery journal, and the abolitionists were again forced to use the "Philanthropist" of Cincinnati as a medium for their communications. The need of a local paper was soon greatly felt. The Illinois Antislavery Society at its annual meeting, held at Princeton, in July, 1840, passed a resolution to the effect that "the necessities of the antislavery enterprise most imperatively demand the establishment of an antislavery paper in this State, and we cordially pledge our influence and patronage to sustain it." [1]

But contrary to the hopes of many of the abolitionists, the executive committee was not authorized to undertake such an enterprise. Nor was anything further done by the State society at the time. It was the same story of the "agent" repeated. The society saw the need of an antislavery paper in the State and wished to see one published there, if it were self-supporting, or if some one would undertake the risk of it, but it was unwilling to undertake such a publication itself for lack of adequate funds.

At length, when it was seen that nothing was to be expected from the State society, the LaSalle County Antislavery Society authorized its board of managers to publish a paper in their name, which should be devoted exclusively to antislavery interests in Illinois, "a sufficient number of individuals having previously agreed to become responsible for its pecuniary concerns." [2] Messrs. Hooper Warren and Zebina Eastman were engaged as editors and publishing agents.

Mr. Warren we remember as the former editor of the "Edwardsville Spectator," the only antislavery paper

[1] "Genius of Liberty," December 19, 1840.
[2] "Genius of Liberty," December 19, 1840.

published in Illinois during the Convention struggle in 1823–1824. He had been engaged in publishing a paper in Cincinnati for some years after leaving Edwardsville, but was living in Lowell, LaSalle County, in 1840.

Mr. Eastman[1] was the late associate of Mr. Lundy on the "Genius," as has been shown. He had managed, together with J. A. Tenney, the "Vermont Free Press," an independent sheet, published at Fayetteville, Vermont, in 1834–1835.[2] At that time he had thought the abolition movement ill-judged and ill-timed,[3] and like Lovejoy, he was disposed in favor of freedom but slow in accepting the platform of the abolitionists as the sole remedy for slavery. The friendship of Myron Holly and the death of Lovejoy seem to have contributed greatly toward making him an abolitionist. Mr. Eastman was naturally philanthropic, and the negroes in bondage appealed strongly to the best in his character.[4] He was a member of no political party, but at the time he began his labors on the "Genius of Universal Emancipation," he aspired to see formed "a political organization, delivered from national apostasy, which should administer the government on the doctrine of the Fathers—the natural equality of all," to use his own words.[5]

The new paper was styled the "Genius of Liberty," and its first number appeared on Saturday, December 19,

[1] Mrs. Eastman told me, in a personal interview, that her husband prepared a short obituary sketch of Mr. Lundy, which so pleased the abolitionists that they engaged him to continue Mr. Lundy's paper and work. For this obituary sketch, see "Genius of Universal Emancipation," No. 10, August 23, 1839; see also "Memorial of Zebina Eastman," page 7.

[2] From June 7, 1834 to February 14, 1835; see file in Chicago Historical Society, and "Memorial to Z. Eastman," page 6.

Mr. Eastman worked at times also on the "Hartford Pearl" and "Peoria Register," of which Mr. J. Brown Terrinton was editor, and on the "Amherst Gazette."

[3] The "Vermont Free Press," July 13, and August 9, 1834.

[4] "Memorial," page 7.

[5] "The Antislavery Agitation in Illinois," page 664. (Old edition of Blanchard's "Illinois.")

1840.[1] It was published in Lowell, from the old press of the "Genius of Universal Emancipation,"[2] of which it proved a worthy successor. It bore the same motto at its head as its predecessor, and in its prospectus, we are told by the editors, "But as the 'Genius of Universal Emancipation' was always, it will be the object of the publishers of the 'Genius of Liberty' to make it the fearless and unflinching opponent of oppression in every form, and particularly slavery in the United States."

A section of the paper was also to be devoted to "subjects that will elevate the morals, expand the interests, improve the finer feelings, and give zest and stability to the social and democratic relations of the intelligent and enlightened freeman, and teach him the better to observe and discern an American's rights and duties."[3] To this end articles on philosophy, science, political economy, agriculture, and on subjects interesting to the emigrant, were to be introduced from time to time. This paper continued to be issued from Lowell for over a year, but in the summer of 1842 the enterprise was transferred to Chicago and resumed under a new name.

The difficulties of supporting an abolition paper in Illinois at that time were fully realized by the editors. In the first issue, Mr. Eastman made an urgent appeal to all abolitionists in the State to take the paper, but he especially requested the aid of all the friends of the cause in the East, without whose support he deemed the journal could not be sustained.

This last bears eloquent testimony to the weakness of the abolition forces in 1840. We have no complete infor-

[1] File in Chicago Historical Society, Nos. 1-52, December 19, 1840–April 2, 1842.

[2] Eastman's "Antislavery Agitation in Illinois," page 665.

[3] "Genius of Liberty," December 19, 1840.

mation concerning the results of the efforts of the Illinois Antislavery Society and its agents in that year, but the little that has been preserved to us is far from encouraging. The Reverend W. T. Allen was then its official representative, and his report for the months of September, October, and November shows at least how universal and determined the opposition was.[1] He covered during this period the region between Alton and Jacksonville, travelling with a horse and wagon, but he made little impression on the negro-hating citizens of "Upper Egypt." Most of them, he found, were Southerners, and some were still slaveholders. Those few who were in favor of freedom for the slaves, advocated the colonization plan, and did not want any free negroes in the State. Negro-hatred was the great sin of these people, he claimed.

Five lectures were delivered in peace in Upper Alton, but the Mayor of Alton, on the petition of the citizens, caused the trustees of the Presbyterian Church to close its doors to Mr. Allen, when he was about to commence a series of talks there. At Manchester and Jerseyville he was disturbed by mobs; and opposition to his work was shown in other places. But at Salem, Collinville and Bethel, he was well received. His final summary of the conditions prevalent in this district is noteworthy. "The great mass of the people in this section," he wrote, "are inaccessible on this subject. They will not come to the light. But notwithstanding all this, there are many warm friends to the slave, and the cause is slowly but steadily advancing. This community is very much like a slave-

[1] "Genius of Liberty," June 30, 1841. Mr. Cook seems to have been still an agent, according to the report of the committee on funds, at the July meeting, 1841; but no account of his labors has been preserved. However, we judge from this report that he was still in the society's debt, rather than its agent in 1840-1841. "Genius of Liberty," July 3, 1841.

holding community. . . . . The tenacity and strength of the people's ignorance are indeed astonishing." [1]

The abolitionists thus early recognized the hopelessness of accomplishing much by antislavery agitation in "Egypt"; and consequently we find their efforts directed hereafter largely to Central and Northern Illinois.

In the year 1841 we find increasing activities, although the lack of sufficient funds was still severely felt, especially by the editors of the "Genius of Liberty." On the 24th of February a special meeting of the Illinois Antislavery Society was held at Lowell.[2] There was a good attendance and the best of feeling animated the delegates. Great interest was shown in the topics discussed, and some of those present averred that this was the most enthusiastic abolition meeting ever held (up to that time) in the State.[3]

Here the ground was taken that slavery was to be removed through laws on the subject, and therefore, that it was inconsistent and suicidal for abolitionists to vote for proslavery men for legislative and executive offices. Here, too, for the first time, the agitation of the temperance question along with slavery was discussed.[4]

The society then recommended its executive committee to accept the offer of the LaSalle County Antislavery Society to transfer the control of the "Genius of Liberty" from its own hands to those of the State society, and to make that paper the official organ of the Illinois Antislavery Society.[5] This the committee proceeded to do at

[1] "Genius of Liberty," January 30, 1841, letter from Allen dated December 7, 1840. July 3, 1841, report of the executive committee of the Illinois Antislavery Society, and also a letter from Moses Lemen, of the "Lemen's Settlement," near Collinsville. "Genius of Liberty," March 26, 1842.

[2] "Genius of Liberty," February 27, 1841.

[3] "Genius of Liberty," February 27, 1841.

[4] "Genius of Liberty," February 27, 1841, minutes of meetings and resolutions passed.

[5] "Genius of Liberty," February 27, 1841; one hundred and sixty dollars was pledged at this meeting towards its support.

its next meeting, on July 5,[1] and the "Genius of Liberty" bore the name of this committee at its head from July, 1841, till April, 1842.

On February 25, the day following the meeting of the Illinois Antislavery Society, the same men assembled, with possibly a few others, in an Illinois State Antislavery Convention. This was the *first* political State convention of antislavery men in Illinois. Here the recent action of Congress in regard to receiving petitions was discussed, and the question of sending delegates to the National Antislavery Convention to be held at New York in May was debated. No delegates were appointed, but the Reverend John Cross was deputed to convey to the convention in New York the resolutions of this meeting. These resolutions denounced the Congressional action on petitions and approved the movement for political unity and action among abolitionists, in the interests of which the New York convention had been called.[2]

The attention of the Illinois abolitionists throughout this year seem to have centred largely upon the two topics of petitions to Congress and of repeal of the "Black Laws" in Illinois. In the annual report of the executive committee, made at the annual meeting in June, 1841, we learn that two hundred copies of the minutes of the last annual meeting, in which both subjects are urged by resolutions, had been distributed in the State, and that five hundred copies of the form of petitions to the State Legislature to repeal the "Black Code" had been printed also, and in large part distributed.[3] In addition,

[1] "Genius of Liberty," July 10, 1841. This was held at the Union Grove meeting-house. This committee was composed of H. G. Pendleton, Owen Lovejoy, Chester Dyer, Z. Eastman, Caleb Cook, S. D. Laughlin, R. E. W. Adams, H. L. Fulton, J. N. Dickey, James Todd, J. Clark, and W. Selby.

[2] "Genius of Liberty," February 27, 1841.

[3] "Genius of Liberty," July 3, 1841.

the "Genius of Liberty" urged continually the repeal of the "Black Laws," and asked for any information that would expose the evils arising from these enactments,[1] and in July a petition advocating the abolition of slavery in the United States, and signed by seventy-one Illinois abolitionists, was read in the Senate.[2]

The agents of the State society met with increasing success in their efforts during this year. The Rev. W. T. Allen was the society's chief agent,[3] but in October the executive committee appointed Elder Edward Matthews an agent for Northern Illinois and Wisconsin.[4] Mr. Allen was not permitted to speak on slavery in any of the churches in Springfield, but otherwise he was able to hold meetings in most of the places which he visited, without great opposition.[5] In the late winter and spring,[6] Mr. Allen journeyed into the "Military District," where his meetings were well attended, the "interest deep and the results most cheering."

Later he worked in the region near Springfield. After the middle of October, he travelled northward to Chicago,[7] but we have no record of the results of his labors. The Reverend James K. Dickey was invited to speak in one of the towns in Putnam County, where three years before, the doors had been closed against him,[8] and two new societies were formed during this period—one in Taswell County and the other in Chicago.[9] Early in 1842 two

[1] "Genius of Liberty" for 1841, especially July 21 and 28.
[2] "Genius of Liberty," August 14, 1841.
[3] He began his labors, as we have seen, on September 1, 1840, in "Upper Egypt."
[4] "Genius of Liberty," October 23, 1841.
[5] "Genius of Liberty," June 5, 1841 (letter from Allen, dated Groveland, May 27).
"Genius of Liberty," July 3, 1841; report of committee.
[6] Three months previous to April 1.
[7] "Genius of Liberty," October 23, 1841.
[8] "Genius of Liberty," December 4, 1841.
[9] "Genius of Liberty," September 18, 1841, and January 15, 1842; Taswell County Antislavery Society.

others were organized, one in LaSalle and one in McHenry County.[1]

The results of this year's labor are more apparent when we look at the increase of the abolition vote in July, 1841, over that of November, 1840. The gain was 367, or considerably more than double the vote of 1840.[2] This was a most flattering reward for their efforts.

The financial receipts of the State society show up fairly well on paper at this time, but in actuality they were far from sufficient. From November, 1840, to April, 1842, the total sum actually received by the treasurer, as far as reported by him in the "Genius of Liberty," amounted to $689.49. If we add to this the reported collections of the society's agent, Mr. Allen, which were $438.36½, we increase this total income to $1,127.85½. Then, if we unite with these the reported income of the "Genius of Liberty" for the same period, whose management, as we have seen, the society had assumed, the sum total of the Illinois Antislavery Society's direct and indirect receipts reached the figure of $1,405.95½. This sounds well for so young and feeble a society, but when one remembers that $200 of this was in the shape of a lot in Alton, given by C. W. Hunter,[3] and that a very large proportion of the balance was paid in produce and articles of trade,[4] it is seen that this sum was by no means as effective as it appeared. When we consider that out of this fourteen hundred dollars were to come the salaries of the travelling agents, the support of the "Genius of

[1] Troy Grove, 25 members (LaSalle County); Cold Spring Prairie (McHenry County), 33 members; "Genius of Liberty," February 26 and March 19, 1842. "Genius of Liberty," February 27, 1841–April 2, 1842.

[2] The vote in 1840, 160; and in 1841, 527. Most, if not all, of the abolitionists lived in the third district at this time.

[3] "Genius of Liberty," October 2, 1841.

[4] See especially "Genius of Liberty," October 2, 1841, and April 2, 1842; Allen's report.

Liberty," the sums for the printing of antislavery pamphlets and tracts, and the cash for numerous incidental expenses, it is readily apparent that the society's income was far from meeting the demands upon it. In point of fact, when the society's agents were unable to raise enough money for their own support, and were compelled to call upon the society for the balance of their salaries, it was found impossible to pay them. It was some years before this debt was finally discharged.[1]

Meanwhile the "Genius of Liberty" was being carried along from month to month on the very edge of bankruptcy. Editorially it was ably conducted, but having no advertising facilities, it had to depend almost wholly on subscriptions. This was practically leaning on a "broken reed" in those days, when abolitionism and antislavery doctrines were unpopular,[2] yet every effort was made to put it on a self-supporting basis. Twenty-four persons were appointed in February, 1841, as agents of the paper, in different parts of the United States, of whom nine were in Illinois.[3] In October the number was increased to thirty-nine, of whom thirty were in Illinois.[4]

The Illinois Antislavery Society made an unavailing effort at the same time, through its central committee, to increase the circulation.[5] It soon began to look as if the paper would have to be given up. At length, after consultation with a number of prominent antislavery men, especially in Chicago and Will County, it was decided to

[1] Last debt on this score was paid to Mr. Allen at the ninth anniversary of the society, held at Princeton, May 21, 1846; and the debts of the society cleared up; "Western Citizen," June 10, 1846.

[2] Dr. Charles Volney Dyer was the first, and for quite a time the only subscriber in Chicago. Article on "Dyer" in the "Chicago Times" at the time of his death, April 31, 1878.

[3] "Genius of Liberty," February 27, 1841.

[4] "Genius of Liberty," October 16, 1841.

[5] "Genius of Liberty," February 27, May 1, October 2, 1841.

remove the journal to Chicago.[1] Accordingly, while arrangements were being made to this end, the "Genius of Liberty" was temporarily suspended, its last Lowell issue appearing in April, 1842.[2]

Besides the labors of the State society, there were active efforts to win over antislavery supporters on the part of the county and district associations, especially those of Putnam and Will counties.[3] Meetings were held at least twice a year. Pamphlets and tracts were distributed. Subscriptions raised for the "Genius," and antislavery sermons were frequently preached by ministers whose sympathies for the negro drew them to the side of freedom.

One of the leading features of the antislavery movement in Illinois is the prominence of clergymen among its leaders and promoters. Foremost among them were Owen Lovejoy, John Cross, W. T. Allen, Chauncey Cook, and James H. Dickey. Moreover, in the whole antislavery ranks it would have been difficult to find a single adherent who was not at the same time a strong religious believer. In fact, the organization had its birth in the conviction which seized upon a number of conscientious, sincere, and zealous souls, that slavery was forbidden by the Bible, and therefore a sin.

This earnest conviction was not long in making itself felt. Men conceived it their religious and solemn duty to denounce this sin and to plead for its abolition. They built up an elaborate defense of freedom upon the teachings of the New Testament, which they styled the "Bible argument." This was used with great effect by many of the eloquent antislavery orators in their political speeches,

[1] "Genius of Liberty," October 2, 1841; April 2, January 8, 1842.
[2] "Genius of Liberty," number 52, dated Saturday, April 22.
[3] "Genius of Liberty," during year 1841.

as well as by the ministers in their pulpits. Abolitionists all over the North were united on the general ground, that slavery was a great moral and political evil and ought to be abolished. But various opinions were developed as to the best means of securing this end. Some were conservative and temperate in their views, while others were combative and radical. Still others, with a zeal more earnest than prudent, rushed into theories and practices that were ill-timed and well-nigh fanatical. The abolition forces were therefore soon divided into dissenting sects, when unity of spirit and action was most desirable and necessary.

In the East, Garrison, who was completely carried away with the moral theory—to abolish slavery through the propagandism of immediate and unconditional emancipation—declared for "no union with slaveholders" in Church or State.[1] He did not approve of carrying the struggle into politics,[2] which action numbers of the abolitionists were advocating as the only method likely to succeed. Gerrit Smith and his followers believed that slavery was unconstitutional, and hoped to see it abolished by a decision of the Supreme Court. But they proved not unwilling to use the ballot.[3]

In Illinois there were no divisions as yet. All was harmony and unity. Her abolitionists believed in the

[1] The division between the Garrison faction and the Liberty party abolitionists occurred in 1840, when Birney, G. Smith, Wright, Earle, the Tappans, and others formed the "Foreign and American Antislavery Society." Wilson, Vol. 7, page 288, and Von Holst, Vol. 2, page 290.

[2] "We deprecate the organization of any abolition political party, because it changes the moral aspect of our cause, and is the substitution of a human device for a moral instrumentality to extirpate the system and the spirit of slavery from the land;" report of American Antislavery Society, 1837, page 13.

[3] "Antislavery Agitation in Illinois," Eastman. Lysander Spooner and William Goodell both reached this conclusion through independent reasoning; Smith "Free Soil and Abolition Parties," page 98. G. Smith tried to have this sentiment adopted by the Liberty Party at their national convention at Buffalo in 1847, and by the Free Soil Party in 1852, but failed. He had no following to speak of outside of New York.

saving power of the United States government, if the principles of the Declaration of Independence were once thoroughly enforced. In the words of one of their leaders, "They believed in the necessity of continuing to administer the national government on the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and that failing to do so, all political parties had gone into a state of apostasy. The reform in Illinois particularly was propagated on this basis. Antislavery men here were trained to be so, on the truth of the Declaration of Independence. They were never divided or troubled with the divisions that characterized the East, under the stringent lead of Garrison, Gerrit, Smith, or Greely. They fellowshipped with all these, but followed the lead of none of them. They were working for a genuine Liberty party to administer the Government on the Constitution as it is under the Declaration of Independence as the Magna Charta."[1]

Here the writer is referring primarily to the abolition movement in the State before 1848, and to the men who formed the Liberty party. His assertions are fully borne out by the platforms of the State, county, and district Liberty organizations throughout Illinois (as we shall soon have occasion to note), as well as by the principles which were continually maintained in their meetings.

The beginnings of an agitation attempted by these men were not over-propitious. Nor was their organization thorough and effective, owing largely to a lack of means. But their efforts were earnest, sincere, progressive, and their work met with at least one promising result—it awoke among the people of Illinois a lively interest in the

[1] Eastman in "The Antislavery Agitation in Illinois," page 663. (Blanchard's "Illinois," old edition.)

question of slavery, it started an impulse, vigorous, sympathetic, and zealous, in favor of the negro and freedom, which refused to be silent, and which prepared Illinois to assume a prominent rôle in the great antislavery conflict that followed.

CHAPTER X.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ILLINOIS LIBERTY PARTY AND THE FREE SOIL PARTY.

In 1840 the abolitionists of Illinois cast one hundred and sixty votes for James G. Birney, the national Liberty candidate for President.[1] This was the first abolition vote polled in the State; and in it only twenty-two out of eighty-eight counties were represented. Of these Adams County ranks first with forty-two votes, Will County second with sixteen, and then Bureau, Knox, and Putnam with thirteen each. Cook County cast but one ballot.[2] The great majority of votes were polled in the North, only twenty-two having been received south of Springfield.[3]

At that time there was no organized antislavery party in the State. Nor was there any systematic or extended canvass made to secure abolition votes. It is true that an antislavery convention was held in Farmington[4] to nominate presidential electors. This was done more from necessity—that the abolitionists of Illinois might cast a presidential vote—than from any largely prevalent desire for a State organization. The scarcity of antislavery adherents (and they were widely scattered over the State), the lack of funds and of proper facilities for maintaining a central organization, the diversity of opinion among the

[1] Records of elections, page 302, Springfield, Illinois.

[2] The honor of casting this vote in Chicago lies between Dr. Dyer and Calvin DeWolf.

[3] These were deposited as follows: Green County, 3; Jersey, 11; Madison, 3; and Morgan, 5.

[4] See Mr. Eastman's article on "Dr. Dyer," in the "Chicago Times," April 30, 1878.

OWEN LOVEJOY

(*From Photograph in Possession of Elijah P. Lovejoy, Princeton, Illinois*)

abolitionists as to the propriety of political action,[1] and the lack of a partisan paper,[2] would certainly have precluded a State organization for political purposes at the time, if it had been attempted. But the effort was not made, nor does the question seem to have been even thought of seriously. The time was not yet propitious.

Those abolitionists favorable to political action were, however, not idle. As early as September, 1839, the Illinois Antislavery Society was urging every abolitionist to carry his "abolition principles to the polls" with him.[3] No definite steps were taken toward political organization until nearly two years later, and these only for local purposes.

In January, 1841, an antislavery convention of the third Congressional district was held at Galesburg, and the Honorable Fred Collins nominated for Congress.[4] The result of this Congressional campaign, ending the following July, was very gratifying to the abolitionists. Although they could not hope to elect Mr. Collins, they succeeded in raising their total vote in the district to 527.[5] This was more than double the entire State ballot of the previous year,[6] and small as it may seem, it controlled the balance of power in the third district.[7] This gain

[1] Mr. Eastman assures us in 1842 that many of the members of the Illinois Antislavery Society did not believe in the use of political measures. "Western Citizen," January 1, 1842.

[2] This election came in the interval between the suspension of Lundy's "Genius" (September, 1839), and the commencement of the "Genius of Liberty," by Warren and Eastman (in December, 1840).

[3] See the resolutions of the Illinois Antislavery Society, published in the "Philanthropist," November 26, 1839.

[4] "Genius of Liberty," June 19, 1841.

[5] "Genius of Liberty," September 18, 1841.

[6] However, this district embraced nearly the whole of the antislavery region of the State.

[7] "Genius of Liberty," November 6, 1841,

Democratic vote	34,542
Whig vote	34,188
Democratic majority	354

shows the results of the first political antislavery agitation in Illinois, promoted by the travelling agents of the Illinois Antislavery Society, the county and district societies, and the "Genius of Liberty."

Mr. Collins was the only abolition candidate put in nomination in this Congressional election; but the effort was a praiseworthy one, and did much toward awakening an interest in their cause in the northern part of the State.

It has been shown in the preceding chapter how the first political antislavery State convention was held at Lowell, in February, 1841. The committee of correspondence, appointed at this convention, summoned, in February, 1842, a "Liberty State Convention," to meet in Chicago the following May.[1] This May gathering was the first real Liberty State convention, and was attended by one hundred and six delegates. Cook County had a large representation, and a number of Chicago[2] men took a prominent part in the debates and work of the assembly. Among these latter were Dr. C. V. Dyer, Calvin DeWolf, S. D. Childs, J. H. Collins, Henry Smith, and Philo Carpenter, and from that time on the "Windy City" became the chief centre of the abolition movement in the State.

This May convention adopted the platform of the national Liberty party, which had for its central plank the abolition of slavery,[3] and added one other issue, the repeal of the Illinois "Black Laws." Charles W. Hunter, of Alton, was nominated for Governor, and Frederick Collins,

[1] "Genius of Liberty," February 19, 27, 1842.

[2] The Chicago delegation numbered twenty-eight.

[3] On this point the platform (as given in an article headed "Address to the Electors of Illinois," "Western Citizen," July 20, 1842) reads: "All that the power of the government legitimately administered can do—all that its honest patronage and indirect moral influence can effect toward the extirpation throughout the Union—of all this we are in favor. . . . . We contemplate no invasion of the rights of others."

of Adams County, for Lieutenant Governor. A State central committee, numbering five, was appointed to assume the direction of the coming campaign, and it was determined to establish an antislavery newspaper in Chicago.[1]

To raise the necessary funds for the paper, it was decided to issue a thousand dollars of stock to be taken by the subscribers at five dollars a share. Only eight hundred dollars worth of stock was, however, subscribed, and of this but five hundred dollars was ever paid in. Mr. Eastman was engaged as editor, and agreed to keep the paper going five years if properly supported.[2] The subscription list of the old "Genius of Liberty" was transferred to the new sheet, which started with four hundred subscribers. By the end of the first year its circulation had increased to a thousand, and in 1846 it passed the two-thousand mark.[3]

The new paper, the "Western Citizen," soon became the most potent force of the Illinois Liberty party. Its call for freedom was ever clear, strong, effective. There was nothing radical or fanatical in the conduct of the paper. Its editorials were conservative, clean, honest, straightforward. The editor's heart and conscience kept pace with his hand. His policy was always earnest and progressive. Ever bold to denounce the moral and political evils of his time, always alert to show up the errors and mistakes of his political opponents, Mr. Eastman conducted the "Western Citizen" with moderation, justice, and integrity, at a period when impetuous partisanship, insincerity, and unscrupulous political apostasy

[1] "Western Citizen," July 26, 1842.

[2] "Western Citizen," October 18, 1853, editorial; Mr. Eastman's name does not appear on the paper till July 27, 1843.

[3] Report of Press Committee, "Western Citizen," September 14, 1843; February 23, 1847; editorial, October 18, 1853.

characterized too generally the press of the State and nation.

The policy of the new Liberty party was defined in the opening issue of the "Western Citizen." It wished to "save this nation from the evils and curse of slavery, and from the political degeneracy which has fallen upon us." This the party proposed to accomplish by advocating its principles with energy and fearlessness, but they wished it distinctly understood that their course was "reformatory and not destructive." [1]

The abolitionists now devoted their energies to the promotion of a systematic and complete political organization. The State Liberty party increased steadily in numbers, in resources, and in effectiveness. District and county associations were speedily formed in Northern and Central Illinois. Liberty nominees were placed in candidacy at all State elections, and in many district, county, and town contests. The first counties to hold Liberty conventions and to nominate Liberty candidates were Bureau, Cook, Will, Kendall, Winnebago, La Salle, Kane, Putnam, Marshall, Fulton, and Knox—eleven in all.[2] This was in the summer of 1842. By June, 1846, there were twenty-seven counties regularly nominating Liberty candidates.[3]

The result of the gubernatorial election of 1842 was encouraging. The antislavery vote for governor was nine hundred and thirty-one,[4] a gain of four hundred and four votes over the abolition ballot of 1841. There were

[1] "Western Citizen," July 26, 1842.

[2] "Western Citizen," July 26, 1842. Dr. Smith, in his "History of the Liberty and Free Soil Parties," page 57, says there were *twenty* counties making regular Liberty nominations in 1842, but he gives no authority for the statement, nor does he name the counties.

[3] "Western Citizen," June 17, 1846.

[4] Official returns quoted in "Western Citizen," October 12, 1843.

returns from thirty-seven counties, an increase of nine over the previous year, the highest number of votes being cast in Adams County.

The next year (1843) came the Congressional elections, and the Liberty men put their shoulders to the wheel again with zeal and earnestness. Candidates were placed in nomination during June and July in five out of the seven [1] districts of the State—in the first, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh.[2] At the invitation of Mr. Eastman, Mr. Ichabod Codding came from Connecticut to speak for freedom.[3] In company with Mr. J. H. Henderson, the Liberty candidate for the fourth district, he made an extensive canvass of that district. In the course of their journey, they met the Rev. John Cross, Mr. Farnum, and Owen Lovejoy, who were also engaged in making speeches for the Liberty candidates.[4]

Ichabod Codding was an orator of considerable power. So, too, was Owen Lovejoy. Their eloquent and convincing speeches did as much toward winning votes for their party, as their clean-cut, moderate arguments and gentlemanly treatment of opponents did toward popularizing the antislavery cause. Always in demand, ever faithful to principles, devoted to liberty, self-sacrificing, energetic, courageous, and kindly spirited, these men became the idols of the Illinois Liberty party, and appear as two of the most striking figures on the political stage during this period.

The political canvass of 1843 does not seem to have been energetic or organized outside of the fourth district,

[1] By the apportionment of March 1, 1843, Illinois was divided into seven Congressional districts.

[2] See "Western Citizen" for June and July, 1843.

[3] Eastman in "Antislavery Agitation in Illinois," Blanchard's "Illinois."

[4] Letter from Codding in the "Western Citizen," August 10, 1843.

yet the outcome of the elections was highly creditable to the Liberty men. Their total vote cast was nineteen hundred and fifty-four, more than double the ballot of the preceding year. Returns came in from forty-four counties, Kane County leading with a hundred and seventy-five. The greatest gain by districts was in the fourth, where the vote rose within a year from three hundred and fifty-three to eleven hundred and seventy-four.[1]

In estimating the cause of these successes, the work of the Illinois Antislavery Society should not be overlooked. Between July, 1842, and July, 1843, four county and four local societies were organized,[2] and from four to five hundred adherents acquired for the antislavery cause. Elder Matthews[3] was kept at work in Southern Wisconsin, and the Wisconsin Antislavery Society organized at Delavan in August, 1842.[4] The Rev. T. W. Allen was called again into the field and lectured at Magnolia, Springfield, Winchester, and Jacksonville.[5] Numbers of antislavery tracts also were distributed, but on the whole the work of the State society was far from satisfactory. It was severely handicapped by a lack of funds and supporters. The abolition movement in Illinois had become, after May, 1842, a political rather than a moral agitation, and the Illinois Antislavery Society, although it existed until 1848, remained only an adjunct of the State Liberty party.

The Liberty leaders now thought of replacing the local antislavery societies by "Liberty associations," which should serve as centres for political agitation. The first

[1] "Western Citizen," October 12, 1843.

[2] "Western Citizen"; the four counties were Kane, DeKalb, Lake, and DuPage.

[3] See Matthews' reports in the "Western Citizen," October 7, 14, 21, 1842.

[4] "Western Citizen," September 23, October 31, 1842; and January 18, 1843.

[5] "Western Citizen," August 5, 1842; and Allen's report in the issue of February 23, 1843.

of these associations was organized in Chicago in October, 1843,[1] and served as a model for the rest. Every member was pledged not to vote for any "slaveholder, apologist for slavery," or person who was not committed to the cause of freedom, and to use his influence with others for the same end. The associations were to meet four times yearly, and raise funds for the State Liberty party. During the next three years fourteen were organized,[2] but they never became of vital value to the party.

In January, 1844, a Liberty State convention was held at Aurora to prepare for the Presidential campaign of that year. There were one hundred and ten delegates present, but only nine counties represented, owing to the rough roads and bad weather. It was, however, an enthusiastic and harmonious meeting, the members all working together in complete unison and sympathy.[3] Presidential electors were appointed, female Liberty associations approved, three thousand dollars voted for campaign purposes, and it was agreed that no one should be recognized as an abolitionist who did not vote the "Liberty ticket."[4] "The delegates returned to their homes," wrote Mr. Codding, who was present, "in high spirits and holy purposes, and with unquenchable enthusiasm—their motto will be, *Work! Work! Work!*"[5]

The campaign of 1844—Presidential, Congressional, and local—was begun early. In February Mr. Codding made a very successful tour in Lake County. Large meetings were held everywhere, and he was accompanied

[1] "Western Citizen," October 12, 1843.

[2] "Western Citizen," October 12, 1843, to April 22, 1846.

[3] "Western Citizen," February 1, 1844. It was the "largest and best anti-slavery meeting ever held in the State," according to Mr. Eastman.

[4] "Western Citizen" (Minutes, Resolutions Nos. 7, 13, 16), February 1, 1844. $796.28 was pledged and part raised at this convention.

[5] "Western Citizen," February 1, 1844.

by Mr. William Jones, a free colored man, who told how he had been robbed and kidnapped in Chicago.[1] It soon became the custom for the abolition orators to take around with them on their campaigns former slaves, or free negroes whom slaveholders' agents had attempted to kidnap. The stories of these negroes never failed to be received with telling effect.

In the municipal elections in Chicago in March, the Liberty party secured one triumph. It elected one alderman—Ira Miltmore—in the third ward. This is the first victory of the Liberty party in Illinois, and it was with such minor successes that they had to content themselves for some years. The returns show, however, that Chicago had at least quadrupled her Liberty vote in the year 1843–1844.[2]

By the middle of March, 1844, numerous counties—both those that had organized Liberty associations and many that had not—were holding conventions, raising money, distributing tracts, holding special meetings, and appointing active committees.[3] From May 16 to August 3 Mr. Codding canvassed and lectured in eighteen counties.[4] District conventions were held in the first, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh Congressional districts, and Liberty candidates nominated. State Representatives and Senators were nominated by the Liberty men in various sections of the State,[5] and in spite of the many discouragements, the campaign was pushed strenuously.

The Congressional election came first, being held early

[1] "Western Citizen," February 1, 13, 1844.

[2] "Western Citizen," February 29, and March 14, 1844. Vote for Mayor, 1843, 45; in 1844, 193.

[3] "Western Citizen," March 21, April 25, 1844.

[4] "Western Citizen," May 9, 1844. Will, Woodford, Adams, Fulton, La-Salle, Peoria, Hancock, Knox, Putnam, Morgan, McDonough, Warren, Henry, Stark, Marshall, McLean, Vermilion, and Cook.

[5] "Western Citizen," May 23 to June 27, and September 5, 1844.

in August. The returns were again encouraging. In the five districts where Liberty candidates were nominated, the total vote amounted to 3,149 ballots,[1] a gain of 1,195 over the Congressional vote of 1843. This was indeed a flattering increase for one year's work. No Liberty candidate for the higher offices had as yet been elected, but in one of the local contests they won this August their second victory, by the election of Peter Adams as Justice of Peace in the West Juliet (now Joliet) district.[2]

In November the Presidential election occurred, at which time the Liberty men of Illinois cast 3,469 votes for Birney, the national Liberty party candidate.[3] In this vote fifty-five counties were represented, of which ten gave Liberty returns for the first time. It would seem as if there had been a real gain of three hundred and twenty votes by the abolitionists between August and November, but this was not the fact. Some gain there doubtless was, yet the difference between the Congressional and the Presidential votes is largely to be accounted for by the fact, that in the former election the Illinois antislavery voters were largely influenced by local preferences and circumstances, while in the latter contest they voted for Birney simply as a matter of principle. The Presidential vote, then, should show more accurately the real strength of the Liberty party of Illinois in 1844. If we compare this with the abolition vote in 1840, we see at a glance that the percentage of gain was very considerable, —from 160 to 3,469 votes. This sounds large, but when we remember that the population of Illinois in 1840 was 476,183, it is apparent how very slow the people were

[1] "Western Citizen," September 5, 1844. See also table of antislavery votes from 1840 on in Appendix.

[2] "Western Citizen," September 5, 1844.

[3] Secretary of State's Record of Elections (Springfield), page 422.

generally to accept the antislavery propaganda. The gain in abolition votes fell very far short, even of the increase in the popular vote during the same four years.[1]

Many men were opposed to slavery,—the larger proportion of the inhabitants living north of Springfield doubtless,—but comparatively few were as yet ready to join a political party organized expressly to abolish negro servitude. Then, too, the Democrats possessed a majority of the votes in these years.[2] To these staunch supporters of "State rights" nothing could have been more repugnant than a party which would seem to have been organized for the express purpose of forcing the Southern States to abolish slavery. The antislavery propaganda—political and moral—met thus with so much opposition and so little general acceptance that, if things had gone on under the then existing conditions, slavery would doubtless have been still in existence in these United States.

In spite of the unpopularity of their cause, and the limited number of its supporters, the abolitionists were not at all discouraged by the slowness with which new recruits were added. They rejoiced over the progress already made, and when the time arrived to prepare for the Gubernatorial and Congressional elections of 1846, they were early in the field with their candidates, and made preparations for a more active and extended canvass of the State than any they had ever before attempted. All the Congressional districts, save the second, held Liberty conventions and nominated Liberty candidates.[3]

[1] The increase in the total Presidential vote in Illinois in those four years was 14,005; in 1840, 93,013; in 1844, 107,018. Moses' "Illinois," II., page 1212.

[2] The Democratic party controlled all general elections in the State from its admission into the Union in 1818 till 1856, when the Republicans elected the Governor by a majority of 4,732 votes. Table in Moses' "Illinois," II., page 1212.

[3] This was one more than in 1843 and 1844, the *3d District* having at length put a candidate, Elijah Bacon, of Edgar County, in the field. Owen Lovejoy was nominated in the Fourth District, and Wait Talcott, in the Sixth.

On May 20, the Liberty State convention was held at Princeton. It was "numerously attended," writes Eastman, "and characterized by a noble enthusiasm and a brotherly spirit." Richard Eells,[1] of Adams County, was nominated for Governor, and Abraham Smith, of Vermilion County, for Lieutenant Governor. Then the following plan was adopted for more systematic and effective work in the coming campaign. A central committee of five was appointed to have charge of the whole State canvass. A committee of three in each county should manage the campaign in their respective districts. The county committees should appoint committees of three members each in every precinct, and the precinct committees in turn were to appoint a committee in each School District. The county committees must of course be appointed by the Liberty county conventions, which should be called for this purpose and to nominate men for local offices. The counties also were expected to contribute to the campaign fund.[2]

How far this plan was actually carried out cannot be completely ascertained at present. A State central committee was appointed by the convention at Princeton, and did excellent work.[3] It urged the plan of the State Liberty party on the Liberty men in the various counties, but they seem to have been very slow in taking it up. Twenty thousand tracts, of which about five thousand were those containing the Slave Code of Illinois, were printed and distributed by the State committee. A special committee of three was appointed by it, to manage the campaign in the fourth district.

[1] This is the same R. Eells who figured in the famous case of R. Eells vs. the People. 4 Scammon, 498.

[2] "Western Citizen," June 3 and 10, 1846.

[3] "Western Citizen," June 3, 1846. This committee consisted of Eastman, L. C. F. Freer, Philo Carpenter, of Chicago; I. Codding, of Will County; and M. Pettengill, of Peoria.

In this same district eleven counties appointed campaign committees, and it was decided to make a special effort to carry this (fourth) Congressional district for Owen Lovejoy. Mr. Lovejoy "took the stump" in May, and from then till August he was actively engaged in making a thorough canvass of the whole district. He addressed large meetings everywhere, and in some places, like St. Charles, he spoke to assemblies of five thousand. Mr. Codding had an equally successful tour not only in the fourth district, but also in other parts of the State. The "Western Citizen" got out a weekly campaign edition, which rose from a circulation of 3,100, on May 27, to 3,648, on July 14.[1] Of these 1,300 were special campaign subscriptions.[2]

A second abolition paper, called the "Liberty Banner," was started in Rock Island, in April, by C. B. Waite,[3] and a monthly periodical, entitled the "Liberty Tree," was begun by Eastman and David-on.[4] In Chicago and Cook County greater efforts were put forth than ever before, and the greatest enthusiasm prevailed. The Chicago Liberty Association hired the City Saloon—the largest and most convenient hall in town—located on the corner of Lake and Clark streets, for six months. Mass meetings were held there twice a week, and on Sunday night. All the prominent abolition speakers of the State, and some from the East, made addresses at different times. These meetings were enlivened with music, furnished by the Liberty Choir and the Chicago Brass Band.[5]

[1] "Western Citizen," June 1, 10, 23; July 14, 27; April 29, 1846.

[2] "Western Citizen," July 14, 1846.

[3] See the prospectus of the paper in "Western Citizen" of April 29, 1846. Waite was a young lawyer of Northwestern Illinois, and thought the State would support two abolition papers.

[4] This was continued two years.

[5] "Western Citizen," May 6, 1846, and following numbers.

Cook County was districted, and from one to three meetings were held in each district per week. On June 4, a Northwestern Liberty Convention was held in Chicago. There was great enthusiasm manifested, and at the evening meeting six thousand are reported as being present. Many speeches were made by prominent men, including Lovejoy and Codding, and popular slavery songs were sung by the choir and audience.[1]

The result of all these efforts was apparent as soon as the election returns were made. The Liberty vote for Governor was 5,147, an increase of over 1,600, greater than the Presidential vote of 1844. The total Liberty Congressional vote figured up to 5,220, but the best showing was made in the fourth district, where Mr. Owen Lovejoy received 3,531 ballots—almost double the vote in the same district in 1844.[2] This was so encouraging that the Liberty convention of the fourth district, held at Elgin, in February, 1847, decided to begin preparations immediately "to carry the district in 1848." As an effective means of preparation, it was decided to make a special effort to elect the local Liberty candidates in the August elections of 1847, in Lake, McHenry, Kane, De Kalb, Du Page, Kendall, and Bureau counties. A committee of three was appointed to have charge of this preliminary campaign work. Money was to be raised among the various counties to support one permanent lecturer. Each county was recommended to name campaign committees, and subscriptions to the amount of three hundred and fifty dollars were asked to sustain the tract enterprise for the coming year.[3]

The abolitionists of the fourth district did not long

[1] "Western Citizen," June 30, 1846.
[2] "Western Citizen," September 8, 1846.
[3] "Western Citizen," February 23, 1847.

delay in carrying out this plan. They held two more district conventions that year.[1] They appointed Henry Bibb, of Michigan, lecturer,[2] and made Mr. A. St. Clair the financial agent and corresponding secretary of their central committee.[3] C. M. Hawley, of the State Liberty Committee, of New York, in company with Lewis Washington, an escaped slave, made a tour of Northern Illinois and Southern Wisconsin during the months of June and July, speaking in all the principal towns. Will, Du Page, McHenry, Putnam, Bureau, De Kalb, Lee, Lake, Kane, Kendall, Cook, Winnebago, and Whiteside counties made local Liberty nominations, and one county at least—Whiteside—supported its own abolition lecturer.

The project was entertained in June of publishing a monthly paper called the "Campaign Western Citizen," which was to be made up from matter published in the "Western Citizen," and to be one-half its size. Mr. Eastman reports, on October 27, 1847, the receipt of several hundred subscriptions for this paper, and in April, 1848, its regular issuance had begun.

The August election at length took place, but the abolitionists failed to elect any of their candidates to the higher offices in any of the counties in the fourth district, though in Kane County they elected a justice of the peace, and a constable in the Elgin precinct.[4]

While the campaign was in progress, another election had taken place, which clearly showed how these August elections would result. This was the election of delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1847, that occurred

[1] At Aurora, June 16 and 17, and August 9.

[2] Minutes of Aurora convention, June 16; "Western Citizen," June 22, 1847.

[3] Minutes of Aurora convention, August 9, in "Western Citizen," August 17, 1847.

[4] "Western Citizen," June 15, August 3 and 10, 1847.

on April 19. In these contests the abolitionists only succeeded in electing one delegate. This was Mr. Hurlburt Swan, in Lake County, but even this victory was due largely to Whig votes.[1]

Hardly were the local elections of August decided when the fourth district abolitionists were again in convention.[2] They voted to raise five thousand dollars for the campaign of 1848, offered a thirty-dollar prize for the best tract against slavery, resolved to hold County Liberty Conventions in each county during the fall, and to prepare a plan for a general canvass of the district in the winter.[3]

The abolitionists of the southern counties were not much behind their northern brethren. On October 6, at Eden, a Southern Illinois Liberty Convention was held.[4] Here a committee of ten was appointed to agitate on the subject of slavery in that part of the State, to prepare for the coming campaign, and to consider the question of establishing an antislavery paper in the southern district. In addition the Southern abolitionists expressed their disapproval of the proposed State Constitution (1848), because it restricted citizenship to white persons and because of Article XIV., prohibiting free persons of color from immigrating to and settling in the State. They urged every antislavery man to vote against it. These last sentiments were indorsed at the State Liberty convention, held in Chicago in February, 1848[5]; and all through this period the abolitionists steadily opposed any discrimination against the negro, the Mexican War,

[1] "Western Citizen," May 4, 1847; returns of election given.

[2] On August 9, at Aurora.

[3] Minutes given in "Western Citizen," August 17, 1847.

[4] Minutes given in "Western Citizen," November 2, 1847.

[5] "Western Citizen," February 15, 1848, and "Chicago Journal," February 10, 1848.

or the acquisition of Texas, and advocated the repeal of the Illinois "Black Laws."

The campaign of 1848 came. The antislavery men of the fourth district were the first in the field. In February they nominated Owen Lovejoy for Congress, appointed a committee of five to manage the campaign, and raised three hundred and eighty-eight dollars by subscription.[1] In April, Mr. Lovejoy "took the stump," and made a thorough canvass, while his candidacy was ably supported in the "Western Citizen." He was accompanied by James Perry, who enlivened the meetings with antislavery songs.[2]

All the other Congressional districts followed with Liberty nominations.[3] James E. Burr and John P. Hale lectured in Northern Illinois during May and June, and in July the State Liberty party nominated Dr. Charles V. Dyer for Governor and Henry W. Snow for Lieutenant Governor.[4]

Peace had been made with Mexico in February (1848), and a large territory acquired by the United States. Should this be a free or a slave district? was the vital question that now forced itself upon the public mind. The South demanded that a part at least should be open to slavery, while many in the North did not hesitate to raise the cry, "No more slave territory." A fierce controversy arose in Congress and throughout the country on the question.[5] In this, Illinois had her share, and a strong sentiment of opposition to the increase of slave territory soon made itself manifest—even among the Whigs and Democrats.

[1] "Chicago Journal," February 10, 1848.
[2] "Western Citizen," April 18, 25, 1848.
[3] "Western Citizen," April 1, July 4, 1848.
[4] "Western Citizen," July 11, 1848.
[5] See Von Holst "Constitutional History of the United States," Vol. III., Chapter VIII., page 348, and following, for a detailed discussion of the situation at this time.

The abolitionists early perceived this growing movement against slavery extension. The question then arose —in the very outset of the campaign of 1848—should they unite with those men who were opposed to further slave extension? or should they go their own way independent of all other parties or factions? Already, at their national convention, held in Buffalo, on October 20-21, 1847, the Liberty party had put John P. Hale and Leicester King in nomination for the offices of President and Vice-President. The Liberty men of Illinois were fully in sympathy with these nominations,[1] but they showed themselves ready to unite with any other party that was truly opposed to slavery and its extension, declaring that in so doing they in no way retreated from their cardinal principle—the total abolition of slavery.[2]

With reference to the Ohio Wilmot Proviso convention, Mr. Eastman wrote early in June: "The call is not definite on other points than the Proviso, yet it speaks the language of abolitionism. If it is simply for the formation of a party on the single issue of the extension of slavery, we hope it will meet with no more success than any other convulsive movements of conscience-stricken men. As some of the first fruit of the seed of our sowing, of course we would not disown it." [3]

Speaking of the resolutions passed by the Barn-burners

[1] Nominations approved by resolution at State Convention in Chicago on February 9, 1848, and in State Convention at Hennepin, July 4 and 5, 1848; "Western Citizen," February 15 and July 11, 1848.

[2] The Liberty men also, at their State convention on July 4 and 5, unanimously voted "That we hail with pleasure the indications of any advance in the cause of liberty by any seceding portion of the Whig and Democratic parties, but we can never consent to turn aside from the primary object of our organization, the entire abolition of slavery, to amalgamate with any party whose highest aim is only to *limit its extension*." "Western Citizen," July 11, 1848. Minutes of Convention, printed in full.

[3] "Western Citizen," June 6, 1848. The Wilmot Proviso men met at Columbus on June 22, nominated the same candidates as the Liberty party had done in October, 1847, and called a general antislavery convention at Buffalo for August 9, 1848.

of New York in their convention at Utica, on June 23, "We have not indorsed them, nor shall we do so. If they are honest in their antislavery professions, and shall come nobly up to the platform of aggressive antislavery political action, so far as such action may be constitutional, we will not insist, as a test of our co-operation with them, that their views as to what may be constitutional shall come up to ours, who have been there fifteen years, closely studying this subject."[1]

While the Liberty men of Illinois were not ready to indorse the action of the New York Barn-burners, they approved in general the step which the latter had taken against slavery. They hoped there would be a union of the Ohio and New York liberals in the coming Buffalo convention in August, and felt that all antislavery advocates—Wilmot Proviso partisans, Barn-burners, Liberty, or Free Soil men—should unite to bring this convention up to the highest and purest antislavery standard.[2] It was the earnest belief that each faction should come prepared, in all sincerity and loyalty, to surrender party ideals and distinctions, for the sake of principle and union.[3]

On July 4–5, 1848, the Liberty party of Illinois held a State convention at Hennepin to discuss the matter of

[1] "Western Citizen," July 4, 1848. The "Barn-burners" or Free Soil Democrats of New York State had bolted from the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore on May 22, 1848; and held this convention at Utica, June 23, where they nominated Van Buren for the presidency. In August they joined with the Liberty men in the antislavery convention at Buffalo.

[2] Editorial in "Western Citizen," July 4, 1848. "All should unite in bringing that meeting (Buffalo convention) up to the proper standard." And "Western Citizen," June 27, 1848, where the editor urges union of Ohio liberals and New York Barn-burners; and "The time for a death struggle seems to have come, and if the advance of the enemy is not brought to a stand at this point, we very much fear for the consequences—not that slavery will ultimately triumph, but that the struggle will be indefinitely postponed.

[3] Minutes of meetings at Bristol, Warrenville, and Roscoe, in "Western Citizen," July 11, 1848, in first of which it was resolved: "That we here to day (June 29) lay aside all party preference, and unite on the platform of Free Soil, Free Labor, and Free Men, Equal Representation, and constitutional opposition to slavery." "That party names were things of no importance, principles and objects alone were to be tenaciously adhered to." (McClellan's Report of the State Liberty Convention at Hennepin, July 4-5.)

sending delegates to the Buffalo convention. By unanimous agreement nine delegates were appointed to represent the State,[1] to defend the principles of the Liberty party, and to "induce if possible that convention to confirm the nomination of John P. Hale and Leicester King."

In the discussion which ensued in the Hennepin convention, as to what instructions should be given to the Illinois delegates, considerable difference of opinion was shown to exist as to the exact part the Liberty men should play in the Buffalo convention. On the whole, the majority wished to be conservative. They would not pledge themselves under any circumstances to give up their national candidates, or to unite on any platform which should seem to them to contain any departure from the cardinal principles of the abolitionists. There was a disagreement as to what interpretation of the principle—"Constitutional opposition to slavery"—should be maintained at the Buffalo convention.[2] "For," wrote Mr. McClellan, assistant editor of the "Western Citizen," who was present at the Hennepin convention, "a jealousy for the integrity of our principles led a portion of the convention to urge an expression of all the various modes of constitutional legislation against slavery, which the Liberty party have come to apprehend as indispensable to co-operation, while another portion were content with the adoption of the broad principle of all constitutional legislation against slavery, leaving the various applications of this principle to be learned by those who do not yet fully comprehend them, hereafter."[3]

[1] These delegates were Chas. V. Dyer, of Cook County; O. Lovejoy, of Bureau County; C. W. Hunter, of Madison County; Luke Hale, of Kane County; Lucius H. Parker, of Knox County; J. H. Collins, of Cook County; Moses Pettingill, of Peoria County; John Cross, of Lee County; J. McClellan, of Cook County.

[2] Minutes of Convention in "Western Citizen," July 11, 1843.

[3] Report in "Western Citizen," July 11, 1843.

So there were no instructions given the delegates on this point. Nor was any definite platform outlined which the Liberty representatives should stand by and insist upon. In one point alone was there general unanimity. This was that their delegates should refuse to concur in any platform which limited itself to the mere shutting up of slavery within the existing slave States. "But," writes McClellan, "for co-operation with the proposed Buffalo convention on the single issue of the Wilmot Proviso, and contemplating no future action against slavery, where it now exists, there was no single advocate. It was believed that every honest Wilmot Proviso man could have no objection to pledging all other constitutional legislation against slavery, while the Liberty party by merging themselves in another organization which did not contemplate doing its work would prove recreant to the great object of its mission."

In July the Illinois Liberty delegates set out for the Buffalo convention. Among the nine representatives was Mr. Eastman of the "Western Citizen." The journey was made chiefly by boat around the Great Lakes.

The result of the August convention at Buffalo is well known. It was a complete victory for the Free Soil advocates. Van Buren was nominated for President, and Charles Francis Adams was named for Vice-President. A new antislavery organization, called the Free Soil party, was organized on a platform which met with the universal approval of all the delegates—Barn-burners, Conscience-Whigs, and Libertymen alike.[1]

[1] Eastman in "Western Citizen," August 22, 1848. See also Joshua Leavitt's letter in the same issue. Leavitt was one of the committee of four especially delegated to secure the nomination of Hale and King at Buffalo. He writes: "The Liberty Party of 1840 is not dead. It has expanded into the great Union Party of Free Democracy in 1848. What have we lost? Not one of our principles, not one of our arms, not one of our men. Let John P. Hale stand as he stood in the Senate of the United States: he is young enough to abide his time, and we could not spare him to be elected President now. We have gained everything, lost nothing."

The main points in this platform were: the declaration that the Federal Goverment must exert itself to abolish slavery everywhere within the constitutional limits of its power; the demand that Congress should prohibit slavery by law in all territory then free—especial reference being made to Oregon, California, and New Mexico; and the ready acceptance of the "issue of the Slave Power, more slaves and more slave territory," to which their "calm but final answer" was "No more slaves—no more slave territory."[1]

This platform was accepted with readiness and enthusiasm by the Libertymen of Illinois. Eastman commented on it as follows: "We have raised the new banner of the Liberty party—Free Soil and Free Men—and on that banner we have placed the names of Van Buren and Adams. . . . . They are for a total divorce of the government from slavery, and an antislavery administration. . . . . This is all in the platform of the Liberty party. The Liberty platform has been adopted by the Free Soil party and its nominees. Hence we have gained all this—with all the good, intelligent, and the honest of all other parties to aid us. We are all brethren together. We forget the past. We forgive as we hope to be forgiven. . . . . We were shut between two mountains, with a cloud of darkness before us and a pillar of fire behind, and knew not which way to turn—but lo! in a day, in an unexpected way, deliverance came. Fraternity was offered us. Help from the good of all parties is offered if we but receive them on equal terms." A new principle had been established—"Union without compromise—Fraternization."[2]

Such were the rosy colors in which the abolitionists of

[1] See platform in Hopkins's "Political Parties in the United States," Appendix A; also "Western Citizen," August 22, 1848.

[2] "Western Citizen," August 22, 1848.

Illinois viewed the new "Union" party. They expected great results from this fraternization; but they did not have to live many months more before they realized how thoroughly they had been mistaken. They then saw that the union had never been a real one. It was one of policy and of heart rather than of principle. It existed more on paper and in the enthusiasm of the delegates assembled in Buffalo than in any genuine drawing together of the different antislavery organizations for the definite and determined purpose of exterminating slavery, as the abolitionists believed and hoped.

The abolitionists gave up with reluctance their candidates and their party organization for the common good. They received for this sacrifice only good words, fair promises, and an imperfect and unsatisfactory party organization. The Free Soil men were not aggressive enough in action, nor definite enough in purpose, to suit the Liberty men. The majority of the Free Soil advocates were not yet ready to enter, as were the abolitionists, upon a universal crusade against slavery, that should never cease till its object had been accomplished. They had not been sufficiently aroused on the subject. It is true they threw up their hats and shouted with the Libertymen, "No more slavery!" but if it could then have been limited strictly to the slave States, these Free Soil supporters would have been quite satisfied and ready to rest, for the time at least, from their labors. Nationally the union had its advantages, but locally (in Illinois) it proved a grave error, and gave the antislavery movement in our State, as we shall soon see, a setback for several years.

However, in August,[1] 1848, all was enthusiasm in Illi-

[1] "Chicago Journal," July 17, 31, 1848; "Western Citizen," July 11, 1848; "Alton Telegraph" July 28, 1848. Popular demonstrations in favor of Free Soil had begun in Illinois, especially in the northern part, early in July. Union meet-

nois for the new Free Soil party. On the 21st the "Chicago Free Soil League" was formed to promote the principles of the Buffalo convention. Its meetings were held every Saturday night. On the following day a great mass meeting of from twelve hundred to two thousand people was held in the Public Square. A wooden stand had been erected for the use of the speaker; and amid considerable enthusiasm, the platform of the Free Soil party and the nominations of Van Buren and Adams were ratified.[1]

Similar confirmation meetings were held throughout the State.[2] A "State Convention of Free Democracy" was held in Ottawa on August 30, where the expressions in favor of Free Soil and Van Buren were unanimous. The name Liberty party was no longer heard. Everything was Free Soil now. The "Western Citizen" began, in this same month, the publication of a weekly campaign paper, entitled the "Free Soil Banner," which proved a fair success.[3]

But the "Citizen" was no longer the only antislavery paper of influence in Illinois. A daily Free Soil paper was started in Chicago; and a number in the country were speedily begun, or took up the support of this platform, so that long before the campaign was ended there were fifteen papers promoting the Buffalo convention doctrines.[4]

ings were held in Kendall, DuPage, Winnebago, and Lake counties, and at Alton. Cook and Lake counties nominated Independent Free Soil (local) candidates; and in all the meetings resolutions advocating a Free Soil presidential candidate and platform were passed.

[1] "Western Citizen," August 29, 1848, and following issues.

[2] Canton, August 24; Savannah, August 24; Belvidere, September, 26; Sycamore, September 5; Rockford, September 16; Hennepin, August 26; Lowell, September 9; etc.

[3] "Western Citizen," August 29 and October 3, 1848.

[4] See Eastman on the history of "Western Citizen," in editorial entitled "Last Words." "Western Citizen," October 18, Vol. XI., No. 52 This Chicago paper was "The Chicago Tribune," founded on July 10, 1847, to agitate the

The campaign of 1848 was waged energetically in other ways throughout the State of Illinois. Free Soil societies or organizations were formed in many counties.[1] Free Soil or "True Democracy" meetings were held throughout the centre and north of the State. There seems to have been a general feeling of enthusiasm and confidence among the antislavery men throughout the whole of Illinois.[2] In Chicago, large and enthusiastic political meetings were held almost every evening. No previous campaign seems to have equalled this in energy, in the variety of agencies used, or in popular interest.

In order to draw votes from the other parties, and to prove that their party was really interested in the general national welfare, the Free Soil party in Illinois, following the lead of the National party, put several planks—other than that of constitutional opposition to slavery—in their platform for 1848. This was the first time other political issues had been recognized by the abolitionists of this State.[3] Those now entered were, the granting of the public domain in limited quantities to actual settlers, free trade, abolition of the franking privilege, cheap postage, the improvement of our harbors, and the election of United States officers by a direct vote of the people.[4]

This did not help them greatly. In fact, all their

principles later adopted by the Republican party. Andreas, "History of Chicago," Vol. I., page 401, and following:

Among these country papers were: "Lake County Chronicle," "Peru Telegraph," "Alton Telegraph," "Bureau County Advocate," Princeton; "Lockport (Will County) Telegraph," "St. Charles Patriot," "Free Press," Rockford; "Quincy Tribune," "Alton Monitor," "Western Mercury," Geneva; and "Chicago Staats-Zeitung."

[1] Those specifically mentioned in "Western Citizen" were De Kalb County, Vermilion County, Brown County, Winnebago County, Kane County, Kendall County, McHenry County, Bureau County, La Salle County, etc.

[2] See the numerous letters from many sections of the State, quoted in "Western Citizen" for September 19 and September 26, 1848, all of which speak in most hopeful terms of prospects for the elections of 1848.

[3] With the possible exception of the Temperance issue.

[4] Owen Lovejoy's letter dated Chicago, July 15, 1848, defining platform of his party. "Western Citizen," July 18, 1848.

efforts to secure an increased vote in the local elections were rendered futile by the action of the Whig party of Illinois. The effect upon the national vote is not so apparent, because Van Buren was more popular with all classes of antislavery men than either Taylor or Cass.

The Whigs of Illinois early in this campaign took a stand against the extension of slavery in the United States.[1] The Fourth Congressional District raised as its war-cry, "Scammon and Free Soil."[2] And it was not long before every District and County Whig convention had declared itself for Free Soil.[3] Consequently, every local and every Congressional Whig candidate ran upon a platform in which Free Soil was a prominent plank. This created, so to say, two Free Soil parties in the State. The Free Soil party proper (or old Liberty party) formed an extreme antislavery body, while the Whig party became a moderate antislavery organization.

The result was one which redounded to the glory of the Whigs. By the adoption of a Free Soil plank, they not only stole much of the Liberty men's thunder, but retained within their own ranks many antislavery Whigs who otherwise would most certainly have joined the Free Soil party.

The Democrats of Illinois tried to hedge also, but with far less success. They were known as the party which was responsible for the Mexican war, and which was staunch in its support of the rights and claims of the Southern States. In the main, they made no pronounced denial of the accusation that they were favorable to the

[1] The "Chicago Journal" wrote on February 17, 1847: "They [the Whigs of the Fourth District] are opposed to the further extension of slavery because they consider the 'peculiar institution' a blighting curse upon the country."

[2] "Chicago Journal," during July and August, 1848. J. Young Scammon was the Whig Congressional nominee of Fourth District.

[3] See "Chicago Journal," April 10–17, 1848.

opening of the new Territories to slavery.[1] But in the northern part of the State—notably in Chicago[2] and Cook County[3]—they expressed themselves as opposed to the extension of slavery.[4]

This stand doubtless exercised a restraining influence upon some of the old "Loco-Focos" with antislavery sympathies in the northern counties, who might otherwise have bolted the ticket. In these northern counties, the feeling of opposition to slavery extension was so strong among the Democracts that, in the Presidential contest, many cast their votes for Van Buren. But the majority remained by the party in the local elections, largely because their nominees—such as Wentworth, Maxwell, and Sherman—declared themselves favorable to Free Soil.

Thus were the abolitionists robbed of the hoped-for vote of the moderate antislavery men. The chief object of their union with the Free Soil party remained for them a delusion and a snare, since very few of the purely Free Soil advocates in Illinois ever joined hands with them.

In this connection, the vote of 1848, State and National, is helpful. The official vote for Van Buren, the Free Soil candidate for President, in Illinois was 15,702. This was a gain of 12,233 in four years, or over four

[1] The "Chicago Journal" denounces the Democrats throughout this campaign as opponents of nonslavery extension, and on February 9, 1848, quotes their paper, the "State Register," as saying that it is 'hostile to the principles of the Wilmot Proviso."

The Democratic State Convention, however, issued a "Circular to the Northern Democrats of Illinois," in which they made a point of Cass's opposition to the extension of slavery.

[2] At the "Grand Democratic Rally" for Cass in Chicago, on July 10, a resolution was passed "That while we deprecate the existence of slavery in our country, and are opposed to its further extension," etc. "Chicago Journal," July 11, 1848.

[3] See same sentiments in the Cook County Democratic convention in July. "Chicago Journal," July 13, 1848.

[4] See letters of two Democratic Congressional nominees, P. Maxwell and F. C. Sherman, on subject; "Chicago Journal," July 13, 1848. And J. Wentworth's speech as to his position (antiextension.) "Chicago Journal," February 17, 1848.

times the vote of 1844.[1] This shows that the union of the Liberty men and the Free Soilers resulted in a great gain in Illinois on the national ticket. But this was on the national ticket alone—as the other returns show. This was due in large part to accessions from the Whig forces, because, as the "Chicago Democrat" prophesied early in the campaign, "The antislavery Whigs will never vote for a man who holds slaves." Since Taylor was known to be a slaveholder, the antislavery Whigs of Illinois—ever loyal to Henry Clay—scratched his name and voted for Van Buren. Further union with the Free Soilers they did not make, but voted, as for the rest, the straight Whig ticket.[2]

The antislavery vote for Governor was 4,748, or about 400 less than two years before, and in the fourth Congressional district—the stronghold of abolitionism—Mr. Lovejoy received only 2,872, as against 3,531 polled for him in 1846. In the same district, the Whigs, running

[1] It was about three times the Liberty vote of 1846, wnich was 5,147.

[2] A considerable number of votes were no doubt given to Van Buren by the Free Soil *Democrats* of Northern Illinois, but it is by no means clear to us that the 15,702 were "drawn *almost entirely* from the Democratic ranks," as Dr. Smith asserts in "Liberty and Free Soil Parties," page 156. The Democratic Presidential vote of 1848, fell behind that for Governor in 1846 by only 2,400, and lacked but 1,620 votes of the Democratic Presidential ballot of 1844. In these four years (1844-1848) the Democratic majority decreased 9,139 votes, while the Whig vote increased 7,519. The difference between these figures is 1,620 votes, or the exact decrease in the Democratic popular vote. These 1,620 votes must then have been given to the Free Soil candidate. Now the total increase in the popular vote of 1848 over 1844 was 18,103 ballots. But a glance at the Whig returns for 1840, 1842, 1844, and 1846, shows that the Whig party in Illinois was decreasing in numbers rather than increasing. Therefore the gain of 7,519 votes in 1848 was probably not natural, but must have accrued from Democratic forces. This is seen more forcibly when we remember that in the Fourth district the falling off of Wentworth's majority in 1848 accrued to the advantage of the Whig candidate, Scammon, and not to Lovejoy, Free Soil. Consequently some 7,519 Whig votes must have been cast for Van Buren; otherwise the Whig gain would have been 14,000 instead of 7,000. If we subtract the Whig gain of 7,519 and the Free Soil gain of 1,620 (all from the Democrats) from the total increase of votes 18,103, we have a total gain of 8,964 for the Free Soilers, which came from some source not now clearly ascertainable. But did they not receive the 7,000 (or thereabout) votes from the Whigs? This would leave them a natural gain of about 2,000 votes. Possibly these 2,000 were votes that ordinarily would have gone for the Democratic candidate. If so, the Free Soilers would have received in 1848 approximately 3,600 Liberty, 4,000 Democratic, and from 7,500 to 8,000 Whig votes.

Mr. Scammon on a Free Soil plank, made a gain of 2,273 votes over their ballot two years previous.[1]

In all the State elections[2] the Democrats were, as usual, victorious. The Whigs made no nomination for Governor, thinking it would prove a useless expense. The Democratic nominee, Governor French, was consequently elected without serious trouble, receiving 67,453[3] votes. All the Congressional contests, save that in the Galena District, resulted favorably to the Democrats,[4] giving them six out of seven Representatives chosen in the State. In the elections for Supreme Court judges the three chosen were all Democrats.[5] So it is evident that in the State elections, both Democrats and Whigs—even though antislavery in sympathy—remained faithful to their old parties. All that the Liberty men got out of the so-called Union, True Democratic, or Free Soil party was a large increase in their Presidential vote.

This could have availed them but little, since it was a foregone conclusion that the Free Soilers would not carry the State for Van Buren, while, where they greatly needed help—in the local contest—none was forthcoming for them. The result, consequently, of the 1848 election was most disappointing to the antislavery leaders. The Liberty party organization, which had been held partially intact[6] during this campaign, fell to the ground almost immediately. The abolitionists were left without political

[1] "Chicago Journal," September 12, 1848.

[2] In 1848 there were four general elections in Illinois. (1) Election of State officers in August; (2) election of judges on first Monday in September; (3) on the adoption of the new constitution on March 6; and (4) Presidential election in November. But the constitution of 1848 placed all on the same date thereafter, the first Tuesday after first Monday in November.

[3] Moses, II., page 560. Tabular statement of official figures.

[4] Colonel E. D. Baker, Whig, elected. Moses, II., page 561, for vote.

[5] Those elected were John D. Caton, Northern District; Samuel H. Treat, Central District; Lyman Trumbull, Southern District.

[6] Held together in part until the State elections in August, 1848.

organization, although they belonged practically to the new Free Soil party. Their leaders lost heart, and for the first time since the antislavery movement was inaugurated, were utterly discouraged. Hard times, incident to a failure of the fall crops, came upon the whole State. The abolitionists suffered with the rest. They were poor enough generally, since the greater proportion of their constituency was to be found among clergymen, farmers, and small tradesmen. Consequently, the momentary financial distress bore most heavily upon the abolitionists and their party.

The "Western Citizen" lost much of its prestige and patronage, on account of the establishment of the numerous Free Soil papers during the campaign of 1848, and this, together with the losses incident to the financial depression of the next two years, so injured the enterprise that it never regained its wonted influence and patronage in the State. Its editor was compelled to drum up his own collections, and—this proving vain—to raise the necessary funds for its continuance, by means of job printing, advertising, the steam-power press, and other forms of mechanical labor.[1]

The Free Soil movement had not met with much genuine popularity in the State. There had not been sufficient time between the Buffalo convention in August and the fall election for the position of the new party to be clearly defined and its organization completed. The results of the campaign were so discouraging that all effort to continue the organization ceased. No attempt was made by the abolitionists to coalesce with other parties.[2]

[1] Eastman in an editorial reviewing these days, entitled "Last Words," in "Western Citizen," October 18, 1853. Vol. XI., No. 52.

[2] "Western Citizen," April 24, 1849, editorial on "Union of Free Soil and Democratic Parties."

Leadership seemed wanting, and for almost two years, no definite steps were taken to complete the organization of the new party.

Thus the old Liberty party reached its palmiest days and disappeared in the movement incident to the formation of a new antislavery party. Its self-sacrifice met with but poor returns at first, while the beginnings of the new party were far from propitious; yet many of its leaders and constituents lived to realize that their sacrifice had not been in vain.

CHAPTER XI.

FREE SOIL, FREE DEMOCRATIC, AND REPUBLICAN PARTIES.

1848–1856.

The period from 1849 to 1851 was a time of disintegration and depression in the Illinois antislavery forces. The Free Soil organizations, called into being during the contest of 1848, dissolved as soon as it was over. Nearly all the Free Soil papers ceased to exist. All effort to hold the new party together seems to have died out; and the leadership of the antislavery movement went begging.[1] In some districts—like Kane County—there was a tendency to revive the old Liberty party, but this plan, opposed by Mr. Eastman and other leaders, was soon abandoned.[2]

One important result of the Free Soil campaign of 1848 now became apparent. A universal sentiment of decided opposition to the further extension of slavery had been born in Central and Northern Illinois, and was shared alike by Free Soilers, Whigs, and Northern Democrats. In fact, each party claimed this as one of its own distinctive principles. This was noticeable as early as January, 1849, when all three parties contributed to the passage, through the General Assembly, of a resolution approving the Wilmot Proviso.[3] Antislavery, Whigs, and

[1] "Western Citizen," April 24, 1849; May; and June 5, 18, 1850; editorials on "Union of Free Soil and Democratic Parties," etc.

[2] "Western Citizen," December 4, 11, 1849.

[3] "Chicago Journal," January 5, 13, 15, 1849. Also Moses, "Illinois," Vol. II., page 564.
"Western Citizen," January 16, 1849. It was thought that this would force

Democrats ("Barn-burners") were content to remain by their old parties, as long as it seemed likely that these parties would adopt opposition to slavery extension as a party plank; and the existence of a special Free Soil party seemed unnecessary.

The Free Soil men, however, refused to coalesce with the supporters of either of the other parties.[1] They doubted the sincerity of their opposition to slavery, but lacking a definite policy and progressive spirit themselves, the Free Soilers were exceedingly slow in reorganizing their own party for active political work. It was not till the late summer[2] of 1849 that they began to prepare for the fall elections of that year, and then Free Soil candidates were nominated only in four counties and one district.[3] Mr. O. H. Haven was elected Representative in the State Legislature by a small majority, but all the other nominees were defeated.[4] This slight gain was the first Free Soil victory in the State, and it cheered correspondingly the depressed spirits of the antislavery men.

In February, 1850, California[5] applied for admission to the Union, and Henry Clay brought forward the famous Compromise Bill of that year. This last was a rallying point for the Free Soilers, and they quickly made good use of it. Mass meetings were held, and the immediate admission of a free California, the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, and opposition to all compromises with the

Mr. Douglas to resign; but he escaped by asserting that the resolution in question was not the voice of the people of Illinois."

[1] "Western Citizen," April 4 and September 25, 1849; June 18, 1850.

[2] They made a dismal failure in Cook County trying to run candidates for County Judge, Prosecuting Attorney, and Clerk, on a Free Soil platform. "Western Citizen," April 3, 1849.

[3] These were McHenry, Kane, Bureau, and LaSalle counties, and the district comprising Kendall, DuPage, Will, and Iroquois counties. "Western Citizen," September 25, and October 2, 9, 16, 1849.

[4] Mr. Haven's majority was 161. "Western Citizen," November 20, 1849.

[5] On February 13. The Territory had adopted an antislavery Constitution on November 13, 1849.

slave power became the most prominent planks in their platform.[1] The Compromise was denounced. A State convention of Free Soilers was proposed, but it failed to materialize before the following year.[2]

The leaders of the antislavery movement in the Fourth District, however, decided to organize, and an enthusiastic, harmonious meeting took place at Joliet in June to arrange the preliminaries.[3] A regular convention was held in August, and William B. Ogden put in nomination for Representative.[4] Mr. Ogden was widely known and respected. His candidacy was warmly approved by the Free Soil and Whig papers.[5]

In nominating Dr. Maloney for the same office the Democrats of the Fourth Distict pledged themselves to oppose the extension of slavery into Territories then free.[6]

Dr. Maloney was not satisfied with this, but in a public letter to Mr. Ogden, declared himself in sympathy with the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law and in favor of making slave States out of Texas only. Thereupon Mr. Ogden withdrew from the contest, saying that two Free Soil candidates were unnecessary.[7] In this way the antislavery Democrats of the district were retained within their party, and a severe blow was given the real Free Soil party.[8]

[1] "Western Citizen," February 26 and March 16, 1850, etc.

[2] Advocated by the "Citizen" in issue of April 2, 1850. See also editorial on "The Crisis," in issue of March 5, 1850.

[3] "Western Citizen," June 18, 1850.

[4] "Western Citizen," September 3, 1850.

[5] In the "Western Citizen" for September 10, a list of quotations from the leading Whig and Free Soil papers is given, showing their attitude toward Mr. Ogden.

[6] Official report of the Joliet convention in "Chicago Journal," September 12, 1850.

[7] Letter of Mr. Maloney in "Chicago Journal," October 11, 1850.
Letter of Mr. Ogden in "Chicago Journal," October 29, 1850.

[8] Mr. Maloney's action did not meet with general approval among Democrats. "The State Register," of Springfield, and the Boone County Democratic convention, for instance, criticised him severely.

At the same time the Whigs were placing Churchill Coffing in nomination for Representative on a similar platform, and elsewhere over the State their conventions were giving expression to the same sentiments, opposing slavery extension and the Fugitive Slave Law.[1]

The majority of the Free Soilers—especially the old Liberty men—held together and nominated James H. Collins, a prominent Chicago lawyer, in place of Mr. Ogden. Mr. Codding and Owen Lovejoy at once took the field for the new candidate, but it was too late to accomplish much in that campaign. Mr. Collins made a fair showing in the September elections but, by drawing the Free Soil votes to himself, he contributed to the defeat of the Whig candidate, Mr. Coffing.[2]

Meanwhile the agitation over the Fugitive Slave Law continued. Mass meetings were held in many places and resolutions condemning this measure were passed. In Chicago the excitement was intense, especially during October. The Common Council passed resolutions declaring the Fugitive Slave Law unconstitutional, and enormous public meetings were held from October 22 to 26 in front of the North Market, where this law was the centre of the discussion.[3]

On the 23d, Senator Stephen A. Douglas attempted to deliver there a speech in defense of the Compromise Bill, and his connection with its passage. The feeling against him was very bitter, and such a disturbance was raised on the first two evenings, by groans, hisses, and yells, that he could not finish his oration. It was only on the understanding that he would be answered by the op-

[1] See the "Chicago Journal," August 10, 15, 19, 20, 21-25, and September 19-28, 1850.

[2] The vote, according to the "Citizen" and the "Journal," was: Maloney, 11,231; Coffing, 10,587, Collins, 1,076.

[3] "Western Citizen" and "Chicago Journal," October, 1850.

ponents of the Fugitive Slave Law that he was permitted to finish an able two-hour address in its favor. He was listened to with respectful silence, but the answering arguments of the Honorable James H. Collins, E. C. Larned, and George Manierre, condemning the law as unconstitutional, were received with great applause. Mr. Douglas met with an equally cool reception in other Northern Illinois cities, though in the Central and Southern sections he was received as warmly as ever.

At the close of 1850 the question of reorganization was taken up by the antislavery men. The first move was made by the leaders of the old Liberty party. A conference of prominent men was held in Chicago in December,[1] and in January, 1851, a State antislavery convention, attended chiefly by Liberty men of the middle counties, assembled at Granville. The sentiment in favor of political reorganization was unanimous, and a State Antislavery Society was once more called into being. A central executive committee was appointed, and three men engaged to lecture in the interests of the society. Some county organizations were effected. Ten hundred and twenty-three dollars was raised by subscription during the year, but the new society seems never to have acquired the influence or importance that the old Illinois Antislavery Society enjoyed.[2]

The demand for a new antislavery party was renewed at a Southern antislavery convention, held at Sparta, Illinois, in June,[3] and again at the Putnam County conven-

[1] December 9. It was decided here to call an antislavery State convention and to organize a new antislavery society, "Citizen," December 17, 1850. The call was published in the "Western Citizen" on December 24, 1850, and the reorganization ably urged in editorials by Mr. Eastman, entitled "Organization," December 24; and "The State Antislavery Convention," December 31.

[2] "Western Citizen," January 14, 21, 28, and February 18 to November 25, 1851, also issue of October 12, 1852.

[3] Minutes of this convention in the "Citizen," July 15, 1851.

tion[1] the same month. It finally became the central issue of a fairly representative State antislavery convention convened at Aurora in July.[2] Here the Illinois advocates of freedom expressed themselves in favor of a new national antislavery party whose aim should be to secure the total abolition of slavery and the establishment of righteous civil government in the United States. Not wishing to commit themselves further, they nominated without special instructions thirty-seven delegates to the two national antislavery conventions which were to meet the following September—the one at Buffalo, and the other at Cleveland.

The Liberty party convention at Buffalo was attended only by delegates from New York, Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan. Gerrit Smith declined the Presidential nomination for 1852, but Charles Durkee was named for the Vice-Presidency. Resolutions were drawn up, embodying the main features of the old Buffalo platform, condemning the Fugitive Slave Law, and advocating the unity of all antislavery men in one party. The Cleveland Free Democratic convention—more truly national in its representation—passed similar resolutions, except those relative to a new "Union" party. Instead, it appointed a committee to arrange the time and place for summoning a national antislavery convention to nominate Presidential candidates, as if all antislavery men would rally under its banners as a matter of course.

The Illinois abolitionists were not satisfied with the results of either of these conventions. They desired more definite steps toward union and more pronounced opposition to slavery. While waiting for the final action of the

[1] Minutes of this convention in the "Citizen," July 22, 1851.
[2] On the 29th and 30th. See "Western Citizen," August 5, 1851.

Free Democratic party, they continued the agitation for a true National Liberty party, and directed their energies toward the foundation of a new Liberty party within their own State.[1]

No definite program could be adopted until after the National Free Democratic convention had declared its position, but during the winter of 1851–1852 conventions were held, notably at Rockford and Princeton,[2] the question of a new party was thoroughly discussed, and preparations were made for an active campaign in the fall of 1852. The chief motive of these efforts was the desire to unite all men who were opposed to slavery on principle, in one party, and as Free Soil ideas were rapidly gaining a large hold on Northern and Central Illinois, the propects for success were bright.

"Our great business now is," wrote Mr. Eastman, in March, 1852, "to awaken the people of Illinois, and to interest them in this movement. To this end we have now labored for the past year and a half. It has been the hardest year and a half's work we have ever done. We have not worked so much through the columns of the paper, as through other means. We have appealed to philanthropists and churches at home and abroad to help us. . . . . We have thus been struggling, while our people and State are almost bankrupt, while but little money could be found to live upon, and while every man has had his hands full to provide ways and means for his own preservation. Yet the progress has been slow and sure. Our reform never stood on a better basis, and never looked so hopeful for the future. What we need now is work."[3]

[1] See the resolutions at the conventions at Rockford, Princeton, and of Stark, Ogle, Lake, Kane, Knox counties, etc. "Western Citizen," October, 1851, to July, 1852.

[2] Fifteen counties were represented, and the session lasted two days.

[3] Editorial on "Freedom Politics in Illinois," in issue of March 9, 1852.

The lead in this activity was taken by the "Western Citizen," supported by the "Sparta Freeman,"[1] and occasional words of approval were received from Whig papers until August. On the eleventh of that month Mr. J. P. Hale and Mr. Julian were nominated for President and Vice-President by the Free Democratic convention at Pittsburg. On the sixteenth a large Free Democratic mass meeting in Chicago approved these nominations, and similar demonstrations occurred throughout Northern Illinois until the State convention of the Free Democratic forces met at Granville on the 25th and 26th.

Here the nominations of Hale and Julian were sustained, Presidential electors chosen, and the platform of the National Free Democratic party approved. Mr. D. A. Knowlton of Freeport, a man of high political integrity and a representative of the Free Soil section of the convention, received the nomination for Governor. Philo Carpenter of Chicago was slated for Lieutenant Governor, to conciliate the Liberty men. A central committee was appointed to take charge of the fall campaign, and the new movement was inaugurated with great enthusiasm.[2]

The Free Democratic party of Illinois, now duly launched, played an important part in the campaign of 1852. Its central committee authorized the publication of the "Chicago Daily Times" for three months in the interests of the new party and its nominees. It was printed by agreement on the press of the "Western Citizen," and its subject matter used again largely in that paper.[3]

Immediately following the Granville Convention Mr.

[1] The "Sparta Freeman" was begun in January, 1850, with J. N. Coleman as editor."

[2] "Western Citizen," August 17 to October 10, 1852.

[3] "Western Citizen," August 31 and October 18, 1852, editorial.

Eastman lectured at Magnolia, Lowell, Vermilionville, Morris, Lisbon, and Joliet. In October Mr. Kelsey delivered speeches throughout the central part of the State. Mass meetings were held frequently in Chicago and the northern towns. "Hale Clubs" were formed here and there, but the attempt to secure their organization generally over the State was a failure. County Free Democratic conventions were held at various county seats north of Springfield, where the national and State nominations were confirmed, and local Free Democratic candidates placed in nomination. In September the Second and Third Congressional Districts put Free Democratic candidates in the field, and in October the First and Fourth followed their example.

The results of the campaign were very encouraging, although it fell far short of that of 1848 in enthusiasm and facilities for work. There was more real unity in feeling and action among antislavery advocates; men were more certain of their position on the slavery question; and many who were timidly Free Soil in 1848 were now ready to join a party pledged to the abolition of slavery. None of the nominees of the Free Democratic party in Illinois were successful, but the ballot showed a considerable increase in the antislavery vote.[1]

In December Mr. Eastman undertook the publication of the "Chicago Daily Times" on assurances from the Free Democratic Central Committee and leading Chicago antislavery men that the money and subscriptions still due would be paid in. The committee was soon dissolved, and the promised funds never appeared. After conduct-

[1] Free Soil vote in 1848: for President, 15,702; for Governor, 4,748. Free Democratic vote in 1852: for President, 9,966; for Governor, 8,809. The ballot for Governor is the real test in this case, as the Free Soil Presidential vote of 1848 was not strictly an antislavery ballot, but rather one where the personnel of the candidates played a great part.

ing the paper for six months at his own expense, Mr. Eastman was forced to discontinue the "Daily Times" and to appeal to the Free Democratic party for aid to continue the weekly "Citizen."[1]

After considerable correspondence between the leaders, a State convention was held in May, 1853, at Ottawa, to formulate plans for the more efficient organization of the party and the successful continuance of the "Western Citizen," or some other paper, as a party sheet. Some twenty-four counties—covering the district from Chicago and Galena to Eden—were represented. The delegates were enthusiastic, united in purpose, and ready for work. The business of the convention was more ably conducted, its results were more consistent and satisfactory than at any previous State gathering of antislavery men.

A plan of organization was agreed upon. A State board of directors numbering twelve was to sit at Chicago and undertake the effective reorganization of the party. This board was to be assisted by committees of five in each county and Congressional district, and committees of three in every town. Ten thousand copies of the "Western Citizen" were to be distributed broadcast weekly, and the committees were to secure as many subscriptions as possible. Lecturers were to be kept constantly in the field. State conventions should convene at regular intervals, and Free Democratic associations were to be formed in every county and town as far as possible.[2]

The work of putting this Ottawa plan into operation was begun at once. The "Citizen" was no longer issued,[3]

[1] "Western Citizen," October 18, 1853.

[2] "Western Citizen," June 7, 1853.

[3] Its last number was dated October 18, 1853. It had been temporarily suspended until the Ottawa convention had taken action.

but in December the "Free West" appeared in its place, under the patronage of the board of directors in Chicago.[1] Its editors were E. Goodman, Hooper Warren, and Z. Eastman. They knew from bitter experience how difficult it was to maintain a strictly partisan sheet by subscriptions. Accordingly an effort was made to place the paper on a self-supporting basis, by rendering its pages more attractive to the general public. Its prospectus assures us that it was to be a "typical Western journal," devoted to the interests, the development, and the prosperity of the West.[2]

Otis Richardson was appointed by the La Salle County committee to lecture in that county and in the Third Congressional District. D. M. Kelsey was employed in Kane County, and the Rev. J. F. Markham in DuPage. Mr. Eastman and Mr. C. M. Hawley lectured in nine county and ten local meetings between December 20, 1853, and January 13, 1854, the most important of which were in Will and McHenry counties. During October, 1853, Frederick Douglas lectured in the State, and late the following spring, I. Codding and Cassius M. Clay began a lecture tour, speaking especially against the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.[3]

Within fourteen months of the Ottawa convention at least sixteen Free Democratic associations were reported as formed. It is quite probable that there were others, as several of the strongest Free Soil counties—such as Lake, Cook, and DeKalb—do not appear on the list.

Most fortunately for the new organization two statutes were enacted at this time—the one by the Illinois Legis-

[1] Its first number was issued on December 1, 1853. The subscription list of the "Citizen" larger than ever, containing some 1,500 to 2,000 names, was turned over to the new paper.

[2] "Free West," December 1, 1853.

[3] "Free West," December 15, 1853, to June 22, 1854.

lature, and the other by Congress—which aroused public sentiment as never before on the slavery question, and which made possible a universal antislavery agitation throughout the State. The first of these, passed February 12, 1853, prohibited the immigration of *free* negroes into Illinois. It was a crime for any one to bring in a colored person, and any negro who appeared in the State and remained ten days was liable to be arrested and fined fifty dollars. In case of inability to pay the fine, he was to be sold to any person who would pay the costs of the trial.[1]

This bill was intended as a blow at the abolitionists who were aiding slaves to escape, and as a concession to Southern slaveholders, who were allowed to reclaim their servants on payment of the costs. Its supporters attempted to justify it on economic grounds, and urged the necessity of preserving the State from the evils associated with an over-supply of negro laborers. But its passage raised a great storm of opposition and criticism all over Illinois. Not only did the Free Democracy, in its paper and its conventions, denounce it in the strongest terms, but nearly every Whig and Democratic journal in the State was outspoken against it.[2] From the fall of 1853 to the spring of 1854 the Free Democratic party made the repeal of this law, and of the so-called Black Laws, the chief local issues in a progressive and extensive antislavery campaign.

In May, 1854, the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill by Congress gave a new impetus to their efforts. This statute provided for the formation of two Territories

[1] Illinois Statutes of 1852. "An act to prevent the immigration of free negroes into this State." Secs. 1-4, 8.

[2] "Chicago Journal," February, 22; "Alton Courier," March 4; "Alton Telegraph," February 21 and March 12; and "Belleville Advocate," "Galena Advertiser," etc., of same dates.

out of the district lying west and northwest of Missouri, and between the parallels of 37° and 43°. Since this region—a portion of the old Louisiana Purchase—was situated north of 36° 30′, it had become *free* territory by the Missouri Compromise of 1820. That measure was now declared "inoperative and void," because it was "inconsistent with the principles of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories as recognized by the legislation of 1850."[1] The real aim of the new bill was—to use the words of its great author, Stephen A. Douglas—"not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill was unexpected by the masses, and aroused indignation and alarm throughout the North. It had hardly been introduced into Congress before a campaign against it was inaugurated in Illinois. On February 2d, the "Free West" published the appeal of the Free Democratic members of Congress to the citizens of the United States, entitled, "Shall Slavery be Prohibited in Nebraska?" It urged the people to "get this into their heads," and to arouse themselves generally against the bill.[2] And during the months of agitation that followed, this paper remained an active and determined opponent of Senator Douglas and his bill.

An enthusiastic Anti-Nebraska Bill meeting was held in Chicago on February 8, where resolutions were passed condemning the measure and asking the Illinois Legislature to instruct the State's representatives to vote

[1] The Kansas-Nebraska Bill.
[2] "Free West," February 2, 1854.

against it. On the eleventh Mr. Douglas's friends attempted to get up a meeting in support of the proposed statute, but it was a dismal failure.[1]

Throughout the State lively "Anti-Nebraska" meetings were held during February and March, in which men of all political parties took part. Even though Congress passed the bill, the agitation against it was continued on through the summer. In July Cassius M. Clay made speeches at Chicago, Ottawa, Bloomington, Joliet, Freeport, Rockford, Elgin, Springfield, Alton, and Quincy, where for the most part large audiences greeted him. At the same time Ichabod Codding was addressing county conventions and mass meetings in the smaller towns of Central and Northern Illinois.[2]

About the 1st of August a movement was started to nominate Independent candidates who should run on a distinct "Anti-Nebraska" platform in the approaching Congressional elections. The DuPage County Free Democratic convention, at Wheaton, declared, on August 1, 1854, that a new national party was needed to restore the "government to its original basis of liberty." The Declaration of Independence was proposed as a platform, and the delegates announced, "We are willing to surrender our party name and to be known by the name of Republican, suggested by the friends of freedom in Wisconsin, Vermont, and other States." This was the first mention of the name Republican in Illinois conventions.[3]

On the same day a large Anti-Nebraska convention was held at Ottawa by the Whigs, Democrats, and Free Democrats of the First Congressional District. The word "Republican" was not used, but principles similar to

[1] "Chicago Journal," February 13, 1854.
[2] "Free West," June 29, July 20, August 3, 1854.
[3] See the platform in full, in the "Free West," August 10, 1854.

those adopted by the Republican convention in Wisconsin were approved, and independent action in the next Congressional election was recommended.[1] Many of the papers of the State began to urge united action for freedom, and on August 10, Mr. Eastman wrote: "The newspapers of the most progressive order through the middle portion of the State are calling for a State mass convention against the Nebraska Bill. We are a little surprised at the earnestness of tone of these papers on the subject. They spurn party trammels, and ask for immediate action."[2]

The "Free West" advocated the formation of the Republican party in Illinois—already suggested by a number of county conventions—for the first time on August 24.[3] On the 30th the First Congressional District was organized on an independent Republican basis at Rockford, and nominated the Hon. E. B. Washburne for Congress on that platform. The Second District followed, on September 20, placing James H. Woodworth in nomination.[4]

The main points of the platform adopted by both conventions were: (1) to restore the administration of the Government to the principles of liberty and justice; (2) the repeal of the Nebraska and the Fugitive Slave laws; (3) the restriction of slavery to the States where it then existed; (4) the prohibition of slavery in the Territories, and opposition to the creation of more slave States.

An effort was made to unite all antislavery men in this new party, especial hope being placed in the accession of the Northern Whigs.[5] In this the Republicans were

[1] "Free West," August 24 and September 7, 1854.
[2] "Free West," August 10, 1854. Editorial urging a State convention.
[3] In editorial on "The Republican Party in the Ascendency."
[4] "Free West," September 7 and 21, 1854.
[5] Editorial entitled "Is There Yet Hope?" "Free West," October 5, 1854.

doomed to much disappointment. Though strongly "Anti-Nebraska," the Whigs were equally strong in devotion to their party. For the most part they were loath to desert the old ship till the new party was an assured success.

The Whigs joined with the Republicans in the First district, but in the Second they nominated a candidate of their own.[1] In the Third and Fourth districts, the Whigs joined with the Republicans, largely because the men chosen were old Whig men and popular with that party as well as with the Free Democracy.[2] In the remaining districts no fusion tickets were attempted, but the Whig candidates everywhere ran on an Anti-Nebraska platform, thereby drawing to themselves the votes of the Free Democrats and other antislavery men.

One interesting and suggestive fact is noticeable in this campaign; it is the unbiased way in which the antislavery men and papers of all parties stood together in support of the Anti-Nebraska candidates. The "Free West" advocated industriously the candidacy of Archibald Williams, Richard Yates, W. B. Archer,—all Whigs,—and of Lyman Trumbull, a Democrat, because all were opposed to the Nebraska Bill. On the other hand, the "Chicago Journal," a Whig sheet, supported the Republican nominees—Washburne, Norton, James Knox, and Trumbull—for the same reason.[3]

Everywhere the campaign against slavery-extension was progressive and enthusiastic. The Anti-Nebraska candidates all "took the stump" in their respective dis-

[1] "Free West," July 21, 1854. The real cause of their failure to unite was not a disagreement on principles, but on the question of the apportionment of votes that each party should have in case the two conventions united. They met at Aurora on the same day.

[2] "Free West," November 2, and "Chicago Journal," October 3, 1854.

[3] "Free West" and "Chicago Journal," October-November, 1854.

tricts. In addition, Ichabod Codding, Owen Lovejoy, Wright and J. R. Giddings were busy lecturing during the entire period. But a more general interest centred around the speeches of such men as S. P. Chase, Gustave Koerner, Judge Trumbull, and Abraham Lincoln—all of whom denounced the Nebraska Bill.

Senator Douglas, on the other hand, was actively canvassing the State in defense of his own doctrines. His reception in Northern and Central Illinois was exceedingly chilly. When he attempted to address a meeting at the North Market Hall in Chicago, he was hardly able to finish a sentence, so great was the uproar and confusion, and he left the place in disgust.[1] At Joliet, Bloomington, and Carlinsville he was allowed to speak, but his words evoked no applause.[2]

At the State fair at Springfield, the "little Giant" met with better treatment. His personal friends and the old-time Democrats were present there in great numbers, and gave him a ready support. He made a lengthy address before an enormous assemblage in Representative Hall, but his eloquence did not win its customary success. The next day he was answered by Mr. Lincoln in a four-hour speech, "conceived and expressed"—to use the words of an eye-witness—"in a most happy, pleasant style, and which was received with abundant applause."[3]

A so-called Anti-Nebraska Republican convention was held on October 4, in Springfield, and James Miller was nominated for State Treasurer.[4] It was a gathering

[1] Speech of September 1, see "Free West" of September 7 and other Chicago papers.

[2] "Free West" September 7-21, and "Chicago Journal" October 5, 1854.

[3] Correspondent of the "St. Louis Republican," quoted also in full in the "Chicago Journal," October 7, 1854.

[4] Mr. E. McClure was the first nominee chosen, but he declined. "Chicago Journal," October 7, 1854.

of the more radical antislavery men. Nearly all the twenty-six delegates were old Free Democrats. The Anti-Nebraska Whigs and Democrats refused to attend, and the former Liberty leaders had everything their own way. Abraham Lincoln—then a Whig—had been asked to attend, but his friends dissuaded him.[1] He was nominated, however, on the State Central Committee, but declined to serve.[2]

The November election day came, and with it success for the antislavery cause. The Republican nominees in the first four districts were elected by majorities considerably greater than those of the Free Soil and antislavery Whig candidates in the same districts in 1852. In the Eighth District, Judge Trumbull, an Anti-Nebraska Democrat, was chosen by a large plurality, while the Anti-Nebraska candidate in the Seventh District was defeated by only one vote. The elections of State Senators and Representatives resulted in an Anti-Nebraska majority of eighteen in the Senate, and fifteen in the House. The Republicans alone elected some twenty-eight Representatives, among whom was Owen Lovejoy, sent up by Bureau County. There was great rejoicing among antislavery men, and all looked forward with high hopes and great expectancy to the Presidential election of 1856, while the demand for an organized State Republican party increased on all sides.[3]

For a time an approaching Senatorial election drew general attention to the Legislature. Senator Shields, a

[1] Lincoln's Ottawa speech, "Debates," page 73; also see Morse's "Lincoln," Vol. I., page 95.

[2] Letter from Lincoln to Codding, dated November 27, 1854.

[3] The vote as given in the official records was, according to "Free West," December 21, and "Chicago Journal," November 6, 1854:
1854, District No. 1, Washburne, plurality, 5,596; 1852, 236 majority.
1854, District No. 2, plurality, 4,374.
1854, District No. 3, plurality, 4,258; 1852, 181 majority.
1854, District No. 4, plurality, 2,559; 1852, 202 majority.

Democrat and a supporter of the Nebraska Bill, was a candidate for re-election, but there was little hope for him, as the Anti-Nebraska men controlled both the Senate and the House. Abraham Lincoln and Lyman Trumbull were the chief Anti-Nebraska candidates. Mr. Lincoln had been elected to the State Legislature by Sangamon County, but declined to receive his credentials, in order to run for Senator. His popularity was considerable, but many Republicans were suspicious of him. He was not yet pronounced enough in his antislavery principles to suit them all, and some feared he was too much of a Whig to make a good Republican.

"We would not advise the Republicans," the "Free West" said, in November, "to support for this station Lincoln or any of the moderate men of this stamp. He is only a Whig, and this people's movement is no Whig triumph. . . . . Let a man of the people be elected Senator."[1]

Thus, while the more moderate Republicans under the leadership of the "Chicago Tribune"[2] favored Lincoln, the more radical element, the former Liberty men and Free Democrats, opposed him. The latter were especially loath to take any step which would look as if they were selling themselves out to the Whig party.[3] In spite of this, a majority might have been secured for Mr. Lincoln, as Joshua Giddings had written Owen Lovejoy urging the Liberty men to support him, but five of the Anti-Nebraska Democrats refused to vote for him or for any Whig. This precluded any hope of securing for Mr. Lincoln the number of votes necessary to elect.[4]

[1] "Free West," November 30, 1854.

[2] Founded largely to advance the interests of the Republican party.

[3] "Antislavery Agitation in Illinois," by Z. Eastman, in Blanchard's "Illinois," page 669, old edition.

[4] Lincoln's letter to Washburne, Lincoln's Works, I., 218.

He was the first to take in the situation, and although receiving a large vote on the first ballot, he withdrew with rare magnanimity from the contest in order that an Anti-Nebraska man—Lyman Trumbull—might be chosen. The final ballot saw his action justified in the victory of Mr. Trumbull by four votes over Governor Matteson.[1] Much good was expected from Mr. Trumbull's work and influence in Congress, and his election was regarded as a rebuke to Senators Douglas and Shields. The Illinois Legislature emphasized this rebuke by passing almost immediately a resolution instructing the Illinois Senators to oppose the admission of slave States formed out of the Kansas-Nebraska Territory, and to advocate the restoration of the Missouri Compromise.[2]

In September, 1855, Mr. Douglas made a tour of South-Central Illinois and "Egypt," in order to explain his attitude on the slavery issue and to strengthen his hold on the Illinois Democracy. His effort does not seem to have been largely successful, but he aroused the opposition of the "Chicago Democratic Press" most powerfully against him, because he declined to meet Judge Trumbull in joint debate.[3]

[1] For detailed accounts of this election, see—
"Chicago Journal," February 9, 1855.
"Chicago Tribune," February 9, 1855.
"Alton Telegraph," February 2-9, 1855.
Morse "Lincoln" I., 97.
The Democrats united all their forces on Governor Matteson after the sixth ballot, deserting Shields entirely.

[2] "Chicago Journal," February 12, 1855. The resolution passed the Senate on February 10.

[3] "Chicago Daily Democratic Press," October 1-11, 1855; "Belleville Zeitung, September 25, 1855. Because he ignored Judge Trumbull's request, and evaded direct answers to questions put to him during his St. Louis speech, and elsewhere, Douglas was called "The Great Dodger" by the "Press" and other papers. Douglas prevented Trumbull from answering him at Salem by talking most of the afternoon, although the citizens of Salem had invited Trumbull to come there. Trumbull answered Douglas that night, however, and later at Mt Vernon and Alton. Concerning Douglas's Mt. Vernon speech, the correspondent of the "Alton Courier" wrote: "Douglas gained no ground by his effort here." The same report was rendered of his addresses at Salem and at Belleville.

The current of opposition to the spread of slave territory grew steadily stronger week by week, and the various orders of antislavery advocates were drawn ever closer together. The Liberal spirit of self-sacrifice for the sake of principle became daily more manifest, while the men of all parties—Whigs, Free Democrats, Liberty men, even many Democrats—showed themselves ready to surrender their old parties for one which would take the right kind of advance stand against slavery.

At length the time seemed ripe for a State Republican party, which should unite all the antislavery elements in the State into one powerful and harmonious whole. Then, and only then, could the forces opposed to slavery extension expect to labor with true success in Illinois, or to wield any great influence in the nation at large. The preliminary step to such an organization was taken at an Anti-Nebraska convention of newspaper editors, held at Decatur in February, 1856.[1] There were eleven delegates present, among whom were Charles H. Ray of the "Chicago Tribune," Paul Selby of the "Jacksonville Journal," William J. Usrey of the "Decatur Chronicle," and George Snyder of the "Chicago Staats-Zeitung."[2] After selecting Mr. Selby as chairman, and Mr. Usrey as secretary of the meeting, they proceeded to a discussion of the principles upon which the new State organization should be built.

They were all agreed that the slave States should be sustained in all the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States, and in disclaiming any desire to interfere with slavery in the States where it existed. With those admissions, they then passed these

[1] "Chicago Journal" and "Tribune," February 25, 1856.
[2] For complete list, see Moses' "Illinois," Vol. II., page 598.

Resolutions: (1) "That we are in favor of the restoration of the Missouri Compromise, or in other words, that we will strive by all legal means to restore to Kansas and Nebraska a legal guarantee against slavery, of which they were deprived at the cost of the violation of the plighted faith of the nation; (2) that we hold the settlement of the true relations of the General and State Governments to slavery, and the restriction of slavery to its present authorized limits, as the paramount questions for consideration."[1] In addition, they advocated reform in the administration of the State government.

On such foundation principles the new party was to be organized, and to insure that end immediately, a State convention was recommended, which should meet at Bloomington on May 29 following. A State Central Committee of eleven was appointed to supervise the organization and interests of the new party.[2]

In the spring of 1856 this Central Committee called an antislavery convention at Bloomington. Besides the incentive of organization, the chief object of such a convention was the nomination of State officers who should run on an "Anti-Nebraska" platform in the coming elections. On May 20, in an editorial on the Gubernatorial election, the "Chicago Daily Press" advocated in strong terms the nomination of William H. Bissell of St. Clair County for Governor, and Francis A. Hoffman of Cook County for Lieutenant Governor. On the 21st the "Staats-Zeitung" accepted these nominees with manifest

[1] "Chicago Journal," February 25, 1856.

[2] "Chicago Journal," January 25, 1856. This committee included both Democrats and Whigs, and was composed as follows: 1st District, S. M. Church, of Rockford; 2d District, W. B. Ogden, of Chicago; 3d District, G. D. A. Parker, of Will County; 4th District, T. J. Pickett, of Peoria; 5th District, E. J. Dudley, of Quincy; 6th District, W. J. Herndon, of Springfield; 7th District, R. J. Oglesby, of Decatur; 8th District, Jas. Gillespie, of Edwardsville; and 9th District, D. L. Phillips, of Jonesboro; and for the State at large, Gustave Koerner and Ira O. Wilkinson.

approval, and shortly they were seen to be the acknowledged favorites among Anti-Nebraska men throughout the State.

On the 23d a Cook County Anti-Nebraska convention was held in the South Market Hall, Chicago.[1] Members of all the old parties were in attendance. Speeches were made by F. C. Sherman (who presided), Norman B. Judd, Judge Skinner, and Grant Goodrich; but the prime mover in all things was John Wentworth, of former Democratic fame. On his motion resolutions were passed, repudiating the platform of the two recent political State conventions (of the American and the Democratic parties),[2] and advocating a third convention, where all men of all parties who desired to restore the Government to the principles of the Declaration of Independence might unite. Seventeen delegates were appointed to attend the Bloomington Convention, and pledged to the support of Mr. Hoffman.[3]

The State Anti-Nebraska Convention assembled in Bloomington on May 29. Seventy-one counties were represented. The name "Republican" or "Republican party" was not used, but this is to be considered as the first real Republican State convention.[4] Men of all parties were present—Democrats, Abolitionists, Free Democrats, and Republicans.

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill had wrought a division in the Democratic party, which was never again to be healed. There were now "Douglas" Democrats and the "Anti-

[1] "Chicago Daily Democratic Press," May 20, 23, 24; the "Weekly Press." May 24.

[2] The Democratic State convention was held at Springfield on May 1, 1856. W. A. Richardson, of Adams County, was nominated for Governor, and John Moore, of McLean, for Lieutenant Governor.

[3] Minutes of Convention in the "Press" for May 24, 1856.

[4] For full record of the proceedings of this convention, see the "Chicago Daily Press," May 30, 31, 1856, and "Journal" and "Tribune" of same dates.

Nebraska'' Democrats. After the passage of that bill, such staunch Democratic papers as the ''Chicago Daily Press'' and the ''Southern Illinoisan,'' and such conservative ''old liners'' as Governor Koerner and N. B. Judd felt that they could no longer support Mr. Douglas, because, as Koerner said,''the Nebraska Bill was a repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and a sectional measure devoted to the interests of slavery.'' These Democrats were unwilling to join either the Whigs or the more radical Free Soilers, but they were not averse to joining a new party formed on Anti-Nebraska lines. The new party should, however, according to Koerner, ''meet all the important political issues clearly and distinctly, without mental reservation. ''I could not coöperate with any party that did not, while asserting the principle that soil heretofore free shall remain free as long as it is territory, at the same time affirmatively maintain that the Constitutional rights of the Southern States should never be interfered with.'' [2]

Many of these Democrats had hoped with Koerner that the Democratic State and National conventions would adopt platforms such as Anti-Nebraska men could consistently stand upon. But in vain. The Democratic State convention, held at Springfield, on May 1, had passed strong ''Nebraska'' resolutions. They maintained that ''Congress has no rightful authority to establish or prohibit slavery in the States and Territories,'' and expressed the belief that ''the only sure guarantee for the public tranquillity is by a strict adherence to the provisions of the Constitution and by non-intervention upon the sub-

[1] Letter to the editor of the "Illinois Banner," of Peoria; quoted also in the "Chicago Press," May 13, 1856.

[2] Koerner's letter to the "Belleville Advocate"; quoted also in the "Chicago Journal," March 10, 1856.

ject of slavery, applying alike to the States and Territories."[1]

In addition, to please the South, they advocated "entire and absolute equality among all the States," urging that it was not "competent for the Congress or any other power to impose upon new States coming into the Union any conditions or restrictions in respect to their domestic institutions or internal concerns, which the Federal Constitution has not imposed upon the original States."

They close by commending Mr. Douglas for the "manly, daring, and undeviating fidelity with which he has always maintained State sovereignty and National honor," and instructing their delegates to the National Convention at Cincinnati to support him for the Presidential nomination, in case his name were proposed.[2]

These resolutions destroyed the last lingering hopes of the Anti-Nebraska Democrats,[3] and accordingly, we find their leaders—such as Wentworth, Judd, Palmer, Baker, Allen, and Koerner—all active in the Bloomington Convention.[4]

John M. Palmer was made president, and the meeting proceeded as quickly as possible to business. Bissell and

[1] Colonel Richardson (a Douglas supporter) wrote to the "Richmond Inquirer" at that time: "We must, in the Cincinnati Platform [National Democratic], repudiate Squatter Sovereignty and expressly assert State Equality. We must declare that it is the duty of the General Government to see that no invidious or injurious distinctions are made between the people or the property of the different sections in the Territories. We do not mean to dictate. It may be that the assertion in the platform of the abstract proposition of State equality may suffice to carry along with it the consequences which we desire. . . . . It must appear from our platform that we maintain practical State equality and repudiate that construction of the Kansas-Nebraska act which would defeat it." Quoted also in "Chicago Democratic Press," May 7, 1856.

[2] "Chicago Democratic Press," May 7, 1856.

[3] The Democratic National convention passed similar resolutions at Cincinnati on June 2, and declared that the "only sound and safe solution of the slavery question" was in the principle of "non-intervention by Congress with slavery in State and Territory and in the District of Columbia." Democratic Platform, 1856.

[4] Several of the counties revolted from the Democratic party as soon as the Springfield platform had been made known; for example, Peoria, Madison, and Cook. "Chicago Press," May 24, 26, 1856.

Hoffman were unanimously nominated amid great enthusiasm. The remainder of the State ticket was formulated by a nominating committee, of which Lincoln was chairman, and adopted without alteration. A State Central Committee numbering five was appointed to call further conventions if necessary, fill vacancies, and direct the coming campaign. The resolutions passed show little alteration from the Anti-Nebraska platform suggested by the editorial convention at Aurora. It was, however, conceived purposely in a liberal spirit, and contained only the broadest antislavery expansion principles. In this way the support of all classes of antislavery men was secured, and all the elements of slavery opposition were united in one powerful party. One thing only of importance was added, namely, that the admission of Kansas on the Constitution adopted by the people should take place immediately. The convention further urged the formation of Anti-Nebraska clubs and praised the recent work of Trumbull in the Senate.

When the business had been disposed of, speeches were made by O. H. Browning of Quincy, Owen Lovejoy, and B. C. Cook of Ottawa.[1] But it was left to Abraham Lincoln to make the most telling address and to raise the audience up to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. He spoke for an hour and a half, holding the assembly spell-bound by his irresistible logic, his earnestness, and his brilliant forensic oratory. When he finished, the "audience sprang to its feet and gave cheer after cheer."[2]

This remarkable speech was the first of a series of forensic triumphs which were to win for him a national

[1] "Chicago Press," May 31, 1856.

[2] Quoted from the correspondent of the "Press" who was present. "Press," May 31, 1856.

reputation as an orator and thinker. In it he defined his position on the slavery question fairly and fearlessly, and took his stand firmly as the uncompromising enemy of slavery expansion.[1] The abolitionists hesitated no longer. They hastened to give him their support, and the Anti-Nebraska advocates began to rally about him as the undoubted leader of the new party in Illinois.[2]

The contest of 1856 was a noteworthy one, and full of promising signs for the new party. The National Republican party had put John C. Frémont and William L. Dayton in nomination for President and Vice-President at its Philadelphia convention on June 17. But to the Illinoisans, the real interest centred in their Gubernatorial and Congressional elections, since the election of a Democratic President seemed rather a foregone conclusion.

The Republicans of Illinois—or "Anti-Nebraskans," as they yet preferred to call themselves—made great exertions to carry their State ticket and to elect their candidates in the first four (Northern) Congressional districts. Each candidate took the stump and canvassed his own district thoroughly.[3] In addition, many prominent men from without the State—like General Nye of New York, N. P. Banks of Massachusetts, J. P. Hale, and Governor

[1] This Bloomington speech seems never to have been printed, so we are forced to judge of its contents from meagre newspaper report.

[2] Mr. Eastman has recorded an interview about this time between himself and Mr. Herndon, Lincoln's law partner. Mr. Eastman visited Springfield to assure himself and his abolition friends as to Mr. Lincoln's real position on the slavery issue. Mr. Herndon assured him that Lincoln was all right. "He has been," he continued, "an attentive reader of your paper for several years; he believes in the Declaration of Independence, and . . . . he is well posted. That he might get all sides of that question, I take Garrison's "Liberator," and he takes the "National Era" and the "Western Citizen." Although he does not say much, you may depend upon it, Mr Lincoln is all right; when it becomes necessary, he will speak so that he will be understood. And," concludes Mr. Eastman, "he did speak, too, at the Bloomington convention. After this there was no longer any opposition to Mr. Lincoln from the most radical of the abolitionists." "Anti Slavery Agitation in Illinois," page 671, old edition of Blanchard's "Illinois," 2, 3. (See page 265.)

[3] For the particulars of this campaign, see "Chicago Journal," October 6 to November 1, 1856; "Tribune" and other papers of same date.

Robinson of Kansas—were induced to come and assist in the campaign. Among the local orators who traversed the State in the interests of the Republican party, Lincoln and Trumbull were the most effective and the most popular.[1]

Anti-Nebraska clubs were organized in many places, parades indulged in, and enthusiastic mass meetings held out of doors in groves or public squares. The result in November was such as to gladden the heart of every Republican. Although the State went Democratic in the national contest, the Republicans were completely successful in the election of State officials,[2] and they elected Republican Congressmen in the first four Congressional districts by large majorities.[3] This was the first time in the history of Illinois that the Democrats had failed to secure a majority in the State elections, and that any other party had ever elected its entire State ticket. The Republicans were justly proud of this achievement, and on Wednesday evening, December 10, a great banquet was held at the Tremont House, in Chicago, in celebration of this memorable victory. Lincoln, Lovejoy, Turner of Freeport, James Miller, J. J. Beardsley, and B. C. Cook delivered rousing speeches, and great enthusiasm prevailed.[4]

This triumph in 1856 gave the new party in Illinois immense prestige within the State, and inspired its members to more extensive efforts. Heretofore it had been merely a "Union" party of heterogeneous elements working together to prevent the expansion of slavery. Yet,

[1] Lincoln made about fifty speeches. Morse's "Lincoln," Vol. I., page 112.

[2] Vote for Governor was: Democratic, 110,584; Republican, 111,372. "Chicago Journal," November 21, 1856.

[3] "Chicago Journal," November 24, 1856.

[4] "Chicago Journal," December, 11, 1856, and "Tribune" of same date.

how nobly the elements had stood together! The abolitionists led by Owen Lovejoy, the Whigs headed by Lincoln and Yates, and the Anti-Nebraska Democrats inspired by Palmer, Judd, and Wentworth, had labored in the greatest harmony and unison throughout the campaign. Every leader realized fully that the victory was due to the efforts of each faction and to the unity of all. Confidence in the new party took possession of every lover of freedom. Present success seemed but the promise of future triumph, and the chief result of the campaign of 1856 in Illinois proved to be the welding of all the anti-slavery elements firmly into one great, harmonious organization, which in time became the State Republican party. This outcome is to be attributed largely to the agitation incident to the Nebraska Bill. It is extremely unlikely that any such union would have been effected at this time if that measure had not been passed through Congress.[1]

"Two years ago," said Mr. Lincoln, at Springfield, in 1858, "the Republicans of the Nation mustered over thirteen hundred thousand strong. We did this under the single impulse of resistance to a common danger, with every external circumstance against us. Of strange, discordant, and even hostile elements, we gathered from the four winds, and formed and fought the battle through, under the constant fire of a disciplined, proud, and pampered enemy."[2]

[1] "I am tolerably well acquainted with the history of the country, and I know it has endured eighty-two years, half slave and half free. I believe . . . . it has endured, because during all that time, until the introduction of the Nebraska Bill, the public mind did rest all the time in the *belief that Slavery was in the course of ultimate extinction.*" "Debates," page 18; Chicago speech.

[2] "Lincoln-Douglas Debates," page 5. Compare with statement on page 106.

CHAPTER XII.

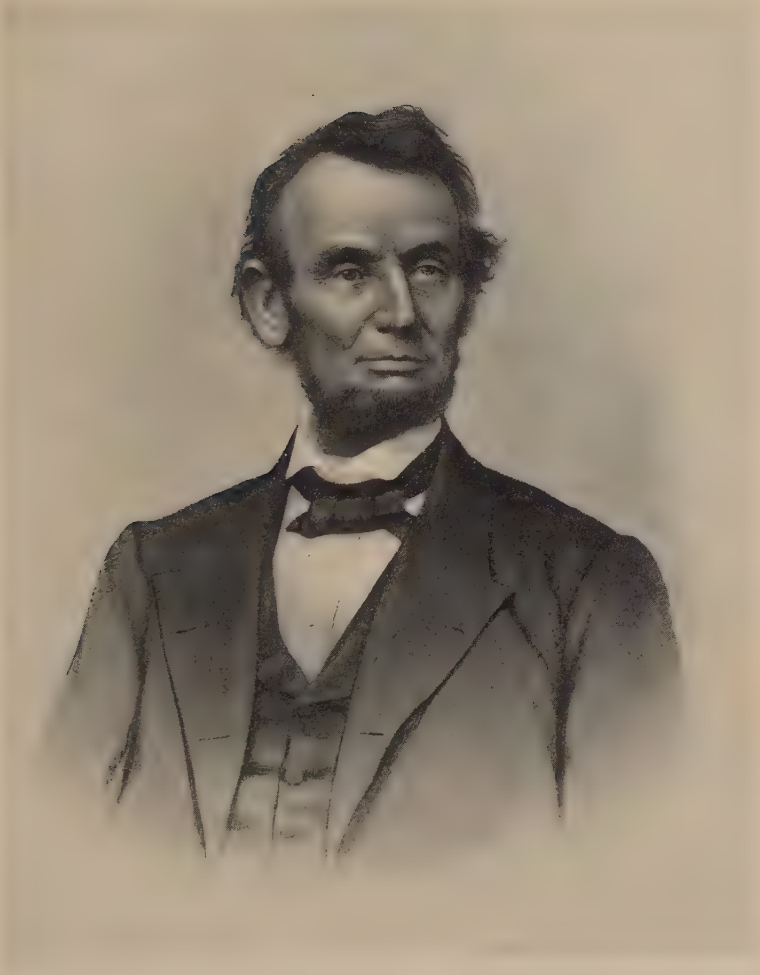
LATER SLAVERY AGITATION AND THE LINCOLN–DOUGLAS DEBATES.

The united "Anti-Nebraska" or Republican party in Illinois was placed on a permanent footing in 1856. The strength of its numbers and the comparative harmony of its elements promised well for its future success. In the months and years immediately following its establishment, events came thick and fast, which increased the deep-seated opposition to slavery extension, stirred the intense agitation on that subject to ever-increasing proportions, and drew into the new party innumerable recruits. These occurrences form a part of the great national slavery agitation, and can be only briefly referred to here. Their effect upon the people of Illinois as regards the slavery problem was much the same as in all the Northern States.

The most important of these incidents were: the attempt to force the Lecompton Constitution and its substitute, the "English Bill," on the people of Kansas, the border warfare in the same State, the assault on Senator Sumner of Massachusetts by Representative Brooks of South Carolina, and the famous Dred Scott case. The Supreme Court, in rendering its decision in this Scott trial, declared that Congress could not prohibit slavery in the Territories.[1] This aroused violent criticism throughout the North. Many antislavery men, like Lincoln,[2] were convinced that this was but one step in an organized con-

[1] 19 Howard 393, Scott vs. Hanford.

[2] Springfield speech, June 17, 1858, "Debates," pages 3, 4.



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spiracy to extend and perpetuate slavery. The Republican and Anti-Douglas press in Illinois condemned the decision in strong terms. Conventions were held in the Northern sections, and resolutions that were directed against the Lecompton Constitution and the Dred Scott decision were adopted.[1]

While this controversy was raging, the time for the election of Congressmen drew near once more. In addition, Senator Douglas's term would soon expire, and thus a Senatorial election would be necessary in 1858. Douglas was a candidate for reëlection, and the only choice of his party. Ere long it was evident that the Republicans, too, had but one candidate for the same office. On June 5 the Republicans of McLean County, in a convention, suggested Abraham Lincoln as the Republican nominee for Senator, for, they said, "We need a *big* man with a *big* mind and a *big* heart to represent our *big* State."[2]

Other Northern counties were not slow in following this example,[3] and at the Republican State convention, held at Springfield on June 16, it was unanimously resolved amid great enthusiasm: "That Honorable Abraham Lincoln is our first and only choice for United States Senator, to fill the vacancy about to be created by the retirement of Honorable Stephen A. Douglas."[4]

The platform adopted included the support of the Federal Constitution, non-interference with slavery in the States where it then existed, prohibition of slavery in the Territories, a denunciation of the (then) present ad-

[1] "Chicago Democratic Press," June 12–17, and "Journal," April 1 to June, 1858.

[2] "Chicago Democratic Press," June 12, 1858.

[3] "Chicago Democratic Press," June 17, 1858 (Shelby County), and June 12 (Cook County), etc.

[4] The Cook County Delegation had brought into the convention a banner bearing the words: "Cook County for Lincoln." On the motion of a delegate this was changed to read: "Illinois for Lincoln."

ministration on account of the "Lecompton" affair, and the condemnation of "the principles and tendencies of the extra-judicial opinions of a majority of the Judges of the Supreme Court[1] of the United States in the matter of Dred Scott." It is noticed here that no aggressive policy is outlined. No detailed program is laid out, by means of which the extension of slavery should be checked, other than the freeing of the Territories. Nor is there any suggestion of an attempt to abolish slavery entirely. Such a thing was never considered for a moment.

On such a comparatively simple platform Lincoln began the celebrated political canvass which ended in the Lincoln-Douglas debates. When the business of the Springfield convention was over, he made a speech which defined clearly his position on the slavery question, and laid down the chief issues of the forthcoming campaign. He began with these now famous, oft-quoted words: "I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other."[2]

Then, beginning with the Nebraska bill, he showed in a clear and concise argument how step by step through that measure, the Kansas frauds, the election of Buchanan, and the Dred Scott decision, a systematic and organized effort was being made to extend and perpetuate slavery. "Put this and that together," he added, "and we shall have another nice little niche, which we may ere long see filled with another Supreme Court decision, declaring that

[1] Because it affirmed that the "Federal Constitution extends slavery into all the Territories of the Republic, and so maintains it that neither Congress nor the people through their Territorial legislation can by law abolish it."—"Chicago Democratic Press," June 19, 1858.

[2] "Lincoln-Douglas Debates," page 1.

the Constitution of the United States does *not permit a State to exclude slavery* from its limits."[1]

The only way to put a stop to this was by overthrowing the existing Democratic administration, and placing the control of the government in the hands of the Republican party. A careful selection of leaders was imperative to secure such a result. Men of sterling character and undoubted antislavery principles should be chosen: "Those whose hands are free—whose hearts are in the work—who do care for the result."

Finally, with unquestionable faith in the justice of his cause, and sublime confidence in its ultimate triumph, Mr. Lincoln concluded: "We shall not fail if we stand firm; *we shall not fail!* Wise counsels may accelerate, or mistakes delay it; but, sooner or later, the victory is sure to come."[2]

After the adjournment of Congress in June, 1858, Mr. Douglas repaired to New York, where he remained till the 1st of July, carefully maturing, Napoleon-like, his plans for the coming Senatorial canvass in Illinois. In addition, he wished to give his friends ample time to complete the necessary arrangements for insuring a successful campaign.[3]

The first act in this great drama was the "triumphant entry" of Senator Douglas into Chicago. He came from New York via the Michigan Southern railway as far as LaPorte, Indiana, which he reached on the afternoon of Friday, July 9. There he entered a carriage and was driven over to Michigan City, where a special train was waiting to convey him into Chicago and to land him near

[1] "Lincoln-Douglas Debates," page 4.

[2] "Lincoln-Douglas Debates," page 5.

[3] New York correspondent to "Press," on July 2, 1858; quoted in same, July 10, 1858, and accompanying editorial. Mr. Lincoln in Springfield speech, July 27, 1858; "Debates," page 58.

the Tremont House. He was escorted from the station by two companies of militia, a band of music, and a great concourse of people. Bells were rung and fireworks set off. A few moments later he appeared on the balcony of the hotel, from which he delivered a long and eloquent speech to the people who thronged the streets and sidewalks below, and filled the windows of the surrounding buildings. It is estimated that some twelve thousand persons heard him. Men of all parties—Democrats, Republicans, abolitionists—were among the crowd.[1]

Senator Douglas's remarks on this occasion were devoted chiefly to an explanation of his conduct in Congress with reference to the Lecompton Constitution, and to an attack upon Lincoln's recent Springfield speech. In reference to the latter, he asserted that Mr. Lincoln, in saying that our government could not endure half slave and half free, was advocating "clearly a war of sections, a war of the North against the South, of the free States against the slave States—a war of extermination to be continued relentlessly until the one or the other shall be subdued, and all the States shall either become free or become slave." As a second point of criticism, he distinguished Mr. Lincoln's interpretation of the meaning and effect of the Dred Scott decision as "a crusade against the Supreme Court."[2]

The following evening Mr. Lincoln replied to Senator Douglas from the same balcony.[3] On that occasion there were about nine thousand people in attendance, most of whom were friendly to him and his party. He was greeted with a perfect storm of applause, and as soon

[1] For description of Douglas's reception at this time, see "Press," "Journal," "Times," and "Tribune," July 10, 1858.

[2] "Lincoln-Douglas Debates," page 9.

[3] See "Press" and other Chicago papers, July 12, 1858.

as partial quiet was restored, he delivered an apt, logical, and eloquent answer to the arguments of the Senator. In these speeches the main issues were clearly defined, about which the "battle royal" would be waged throughout the summer and fall. These were, "popular sovereignty" and the "Dred Scott decision," considered in relation to the slavery problem.

From Chicago Judge Douglas journeyed to Joliet, Williamsville, Bloomington, and Springfield, making speeches at each place.[1] He rode in a special train, the baggage-car of which bore the words, "Stephen A. Douglas, the Champion of Popular Sovereignty." On the rear platform of the last car there was a brass six-pounder which announced the arrival and the departure of the popular hero. Mr. Lincoln followed, heard him speak at Bloomington on July 16, and answered him at Springfield on the 17th. Then there ensued a correspondence between the two gentlemen, begun by Mr. Lincoln. It was finally agreed to hold joint debates in seven of the chief towns of Illinois, namely, at Ottawa, Freeport, Jonesboro, Charleston, Galesburg, Quincy, and Alton.[2] One of them was to open the debate with an hour's speech, then the other to reply for an hour and a half; and then the first speaker to have a half an hour in which to reply. As proposed by Mr. Douglas, this arrangement gave him four openings and closes to Mr. Lincoln's three, but Mr. Lincoln raised no serious objection, and the agreement was sealed.

The two men about to begin this forensic contest differed greatly in physique, in character, and in talent. Mr. Lincoln was tall, lank, and somewhat awkward, but

[1] For detailed account, see "Press" and "Times," July 19, 1858.
[2] See the complete correspondence in the "Debates," pages 64-66.

dignified in his bearing, and serious in his delivery. Mr. Douglas was short, stout, round, and of full countenance, and possessed an easy, graceful delivery. He was not only a great orator, but he was also a consummate debater. He was a master in all the strategies and expedients of forensic warfare. It was most difficult to trip him up or to hold him to a point. He seems to have lacked in originality and logic, but he made up for this by his wonderful power of distorting his opponent's arguments and making them seem highly disproportionate in form and ridiculous in logic. No one knew better than he how to master an audience, and as a speaker, he was powerful, alert, brilliant. He was ready in repartee, witty, and aggressive, but in criticism he was severe and patronizing by turns.

On the other hand, Mr. Lincoln's power lay chiefly in his straightforward and convincing logic, his deep earnestness, and his ready wit. Although not a graceful orator, he was impressive and majestic. He possessed a remarkable power of analysis, and worked out in concise thought almost unanswerable arguments based on historic facts, Constitutional Law, and political ethics. He strove earnestly and industriously to find the truth—to ascertain the real and fundamental principles involved in the slavery question and its solution. When once his mind was clear as to these principles, he defended them with an honest zeal and a directness of logic born of a thorough conviction of religious duty. While fair and decorous in his treatment of an opponent, he was ever ready with some humorous sally that irritated his antagonist, but delighted his audience.

In addition, it must be remembered that Mr. Douglas was then a man of national reputation and the recognized leader of the Democratic party. For nearly ten years he

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

had been the most striking figure in political circles, and he had the support of the organized Illinois Democracy[1] behind him. Mr. Lincoln was scarcely known outside his own State, yet his honesty, his powers of argument and of oratory, and his earnest opposition to slavery extension had won him considerable repute in Illinois. His friends felt confidence in him, and looked forward to this contest, believing their protégé would not prove unworthy of their trust. He himself was not ignorant of the great task before him, and he has jocosely described the relative standing of Douglas and himself at the opening of the debates. "Senator Douglas," he said, "is of world-wide renown. All the anxious politicians of his party, or who have been of his party for years past, have been looking forward upon him as certainly, at no distant day, to be the President of the United States. They have seen in his round, jolly, fruitful face, post-offices, land-offices, marshalships, and cabinet appointments, chargeships and foreign missions, bursting and sprouting out in wonderful exuberance, ready to be laid hold of by their greedy hands. And as they have been gazing upon this attractive picture so long, they cannot, in the little distraction that has taken place in the party, bring themselves to give up the charming hope; but with greedier anxiety they rush about him, sustain him, and give him marches, triumphal entries, and receptions beyond what even in the days of his highest prosperity they could have brought about in his favor. On the contrary, nobody has expected *me* to be President.

[1] Mr. Douglas had lost the confidence of his constituency somewhat in 1854 (see above, Chapter XI.), but his popularity with the masses was still great. It began with his *first* great *Chicago* speech, August 4, 1838, and was founded deservedly on his numerous and important services to his party and his State. Together with Judge Breeze he was the promoter of the first railways in Illinois, and the champion of all the great schemes for the internal improvement of the State, between 1840–1855. For an impartial description of his political work, see the "Chicago Times," August 19, 1877, article called "By-gone Days."

In my poor, lank face nobody has ever seen that any cabbages were sprouting out. These are disadvantages all, taken together, that the Republicans labor under. *We* have to fight this battle upon *principle*, and upon principle alone. I am, in a certain sense, made the standard-bearer in behalf of the Republicans. I was made so merely because there had to be some one so placed—I being in no wise preferable to any other one of the twenty-five, perhaps a hundred, we have in the Republican ranks. . . . . We have to fight this battle without many—perhaps without any—of the external aids which are brought to bear against us."[1]

Under such circumstances the great debates began. One contestant, supported by the enthusiastic and devoted adherents of a thoroughly organized and powerful Democracy, fought to maintain his great name, to defend his political theories, to reëstablish his prestige in the State, and to strengthen his influence in the national Democracy, with a view to securing the Presidency in 1860. The other, sustained it is true by many local and influential friends, but resting his chief confidence in a poorly organized and equipped party composed of somewhat discordant elements, fought for principle, justice, and honor.[2]

The first meeting was held on August 21 at Ottawa. Early on that morning all the roads leading into the town were white with the clouds of dust that arose from the crowds of teams pouring into the place from far and near. Large delegations came by train from Galena, Peoria, Quincy, Rock Island, Bloomington, Springfield, Alton,

[1] "Lincoln-Douglas Debates," page 55. This was uttered in his speech at Springfield on July 17, 1858.

[2] For excellent and detailed portraits of Lincoln and Douglas, see Nicholay & Hay, "Lincoln," "Century" for July, 1887; Von Holst, "History of United States," Vol. VI., Chap. 6; Blaine, "Twenty Years of Congress," Vol. I., page 145, and following; Morse, "Lincoln," Vol. I., etc.

and other places. A train of seventeen cars arrived about eleven o'clock from Chicago with Mr. Lincoln on board. Seated in a carriage decorated by the ladies of Ottawa, he was escorted by a band and a great procession of people to the Mayor's house. After a short address from the veranda, thanking the people for his kind reception, he repaired inside to rest and to dine.

Mr. Douglas was given a like though possibly not so demonstrative a reception, and escorted to the Geiger House.[1] By 2:30 in the afternoon a vast concourse of some twelve thousand persons had assembled to hear the discussion, which was opened promptly by Mr. Douglas. He was greeted with applause, and listened to with eager attention and interest. Occasional cheers and bursts of applause interrupted the gifted Senator, but they were moderate when compared to the storm of applause that greeted Mr. Lincoln when he arose to reply. But Lincoln was among friends, since Ottawa was in the very heart of the strongest antislavery section of the State. Nevertheless, his eloquence and forcible logic raised his audience to the highest pitch of enthusiasm.[2] After the debate they carried him to the train on their shoulders.[3]

Similar demonstrations attended the other six joint debates. Enthusiasm prevailed everywhere. Enormous crowds—varying from five thousand to eighteen thousand people (with the exception of Jonesboro)—were in attendance.[4] Music, processions, banners, and fireworks were indulged in. Both candidates were well

[1] For account of doings at the Ottawa Debate, see the "Chicago Press and Tribune," August 23, 1858.

[2] "Press and Tribune," August 23, 1858.

[3] Lincoln in his Jonesboro speech, "Debates," page 129, 130.

[4] The "Press and Tribune" gives the attendance as follows: Ottawa; 12,000; Freeport, 15,000; Jonesboro, 1,400 to 1,500; Charleston, 12,000 to 15,000, Galesburg, 18,000; Quincy, 12,000; Alton, 4,000 to 5,000; October 18, 1858.

received everywhere, but Mr. Lincoln seems to have received most of the applause.[1] The participants confined themselves in the debates to a few great central issues, and much of their first arguments was repeated at each successive contest. Mr. Lincoln, however, did succeed, from time to time, in introducing some new evidence and additional weighty arguments, but Senator Douglas, though he was able in most cases to find answers to his opponent's points, failed to bring forward much that was original or new. He accused the Republicans of scheming to abolish slavery ultimately in the States as well as in the Territories, of desiring negro equality and amalgamation,[2] of advocating the immediate repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and of attacking the Supreme Court of the United States, because they disapproved of the Dred Scott decision, and he argued that his plan of popular sovereignty, if rightly carried out, would settle successfully and amicably the slavery question.[3]

Mr. Lincoln replied that the Republicans had no inten-

[1] For description of these debates see "Press and Tribune," "Times" or "Journal," August 23 to October 18, 1856. Some of the banners carried by the Republicans at these debates were very amusing. At Freeport, for example, there were these: "Carroll County for Abe Lincoln," "Winnebago County for Old Abe." At Charleston there was one, "Coles County 400 majority for Lincoln"; on the back of which was a picture of Mr. Lincoln plowing corn, and entitled, "Old Abe, 30 years ago." The Champaign County delegation, which came to hear him at Monticello, had a banner bearing these words: "*Cham*paign for Old Abe is *Real* Pain for Dug."

[2] On this point he said at Ottawa: "Do you desire to turn this beautiful State into a free negro colony in order that when Missouri abolishes slavery she can send 100,000 emancipated slaves into Illinois to become citizens and voters on an equality with yourselves? If you desire negro citizenship, if you desire to allow them to come into the State and settle with the white man, if you desire them to to vote on an equality with yourselves, and to make them eligible to office, to serve on juries and to adjudge your rights, then support Mr. Lincoln and the Black Republican party, who are in favor of the citizenship of the negro. For one, I am opposed to negro citizenship in any and every form." "Debates," page 71. In the same speech he says that Lincoln believes the negro his "equal, and hence his brother," and adds: "Lincoln has evidently learned by heart Parson Lovejoy's catechism."—"Lincoln-Douglas Debates," page 71.

[3] "Lincoln-Douglas Debates," Chicago, Ottawa, Freeport and Jonesboro speeches.

tion whatever of disturbing slavery in the Southern States, and that, in regard to negro equality, "there is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence, the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. I hold that he is as much entitled to these as the white man. I agree with Judge Douglas he is not my equal in many respects—certainly not in color, perhaps not in moral or intellectual endowment. But in the right to eat the bread, without the leave of anybody else, which *his own hand earns, he is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man.*[1] All I ask for the negro is, that if you do not like him, let him alone. If God gave him but little, that little let him enjoy." [2]

Mr. Lincoln did not favor the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, but rather a removal of its most irritating features. Slavery should be gradually abolished in the District of Columbia, provided a just compensation were paid "to unwilling owners." He was not opposed to the Dred Scott decision as such, but as a "rule of political action" that the people and all departments of the government must follow.[3]

In regard to "popular sovereignty," Mr. Lincoln showed that it was inconsistent with the decision of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case—at least as far as slavery was concerned. "Can the people of a United States Territory," he asked Senator Douglas, at Freeport, "in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution?"

To this Mr. Douglas replied: "I answer emphatically

[1] "Lincoln-Douglas Debates," page 75.
[2] "Lincoln-Douglas Debates," page 63.
[3] "Lincoln-Douglas Debates," page 61.

. . . . the people of a Territory can . . . . introduce it, or exclude it, as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations. Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature, and if the people are opposed to slavery, they will elect representatives to that body who will by unfriendly legislation effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst.[1] If, on the contrary, they are for it, their legislature will favor its extension. Hence, no matter what the decision of the Supreme Court may be on that abstract question, still the right of the people to make a slave Territory or a free Territory is perfect and complete under the Nebraska bill."[2]

It is generally admitted that in thus disregarding the Supreme Court decision in the Dred Scott case—as applied to the Territories—Mr. Douglas lost his hold on the Southern Democrats, and thereby injured his chances for the Presidency.[3] His reply to Lincoln's question was not a direct answer, but rather a sophistical evasion which, if generally accepted, would have deprived the South of all the advantages of the Dred Scott decision. The Southerners were accordingly enraged, and believed that Senator Douglas had deliberately deserted a principle he was pledged to support. This completed the rupture between the party leaders, begun over the Lecompton Constitution, and made possible the complete division of the Democratic party in 1860.[4]

[1] "Lincoln-Douglas Debates," page 90. Question 2. Mr. Lincoln proposed four questions for Mr. Douglas's consideration and answer, at Freeport.

[2] "Lincoln Douglas Debates," page 95. (Freeport Joint Debate.)

[3] See Nicholay & Hay, "Lincoln," in "Century," for July, 1887, page 394; Morse, "Lincoln," Vol. I., page 142; Von Holst, "Constitutional History," Vol. VI., page 292, and following; Blaine, "Twenty Years of Congress," Vol. I., page 148; Wilson, "Epochs of American History," page 202, etc.

[4] Speech of Senator J. P. Benjamin, of Louisiana, in Senate, May 22, 1860; quoted by Nicholay & Hay, "Century," July, 1887, page 395.

Furthermore, Mr. Douglas seems to have injured his reputation somewhat by his careless or intentional error in entirely misquoting the Anti-Nebraska platform adopted at the Springfield convention in October, 1854. In his Ottawa speech he quoted this, and declared that Lincoln was a party to it. Mr. Lincoln showed that this was a bogus platform, never adopted at Springfield, but concocted by the editor[1] of the "Springfield Register." Then, too, his plain misstatement of facts—as when he said that Lincoln was carried off by his friends at Ottawa because too weak and frightened to stand—told against him.

These seven joint debates were but a section of the Illinois political canvass in 1858. That canvass was without doubt the greatest political campaign ever conducted in this State.[2] Besides the speeches already referred to, Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas travelled over most of the State for a period of a hundred days (from July 9 to November 2), making speeches everywhere.[3] The Congressional candidates and the nominees of both parties for State offices all took the stump. The Republican party was more active than ever before. J. M. Palmer, Judge Trumbull, Oglesby, Blair, Conklin, Yates, B. C. Cook, and others were kept busy addressing the people. Hecker and Carl Schurz made speeches to the Germans.

In October Governor Chase and Ex-Governor Johnson of Pennsylvania arrived to share in the work.[4] The result was a victory for both parties. The Republicans elected

[1] A friend of Mr. Douglas.

[2] The "Press and Tribune," October 15, 1858, calls it "the most brilliant and successful political canvass ever made in the country."

[3] "Last year in the Illinois canvass, I made just 130 speeches." Douglas's Wooster, Ohio, speech, quoted by Nicholay & Hay, "Century," July, 1887, page 369, note.

[4] "Press and Tribune," August 20, October 28, 1858.

their State ticket by a majority of some four thousand votes,[1] and their Congressional candidates in the first four districts by large majorities.[2] The Democrats elected the remaining Congressmen, and returned Mr. Douglas to the Senate by a vote of fifty-four to forty-six on the joint ballot in the Legislature.[3]

There are several reasons why Mr. Douglas should have come out so successfully in this campaign.[4] The chief of these was the fact that the existing legislative apportionment was greatly in his favor. It had been framed by the Democrats on the Census of 1850, and it was calculated that under ordinary circumstances, Mr. Douglas would control a majority of three in the Senate and nine in the House at least. The increase in population since 1850 was largely in the Northern portion of the State, and accrued to the advantage of the Republicans, but it availed them little under the old apportionment. This alone was enough to insure the defeat of Mr. Lincoln.

In addition, the Democratic forces were better and more efficiently organized than the Republicans, the personal popularity of Judge Douglas was still very great, and his coöperation with Chittenden and Seward in defeating the Lecompton plans of the Buchanan administration, together with the consequent opposition of that administration to him in this campaign, won him innumerable votes, as it was felt that he was running in opposition to the proslavery party. His adroit methods of "making light of the Dred Scott decision" which the Republicans

[1] "Press and Tribune," November 18, 1858: Miller's (Rep.) majority, 4,025. Republican majority on Congressional election, 4,144.

[2] Vote as given in "Press and Tribune" (Rep. majority): 1st District, 9,414; 2d District, 8,639; 3d District, 7,443; 4th District, 2,711.

[3] "Press and Tribune," November 5, 1858.

[4] "Press and Tribune," November 5, 1858, for the causes of Lincoln's defeat, from a Republican standpoint.

were striving to make the chief issue of the campaign, contributed not a little to the favorable result.

As to the outcome of the personal encounter between him and Mr. Lincoln, it has been universally admitted that in principle, in self-control, in logical argument, Mr. Lincoln had the advantage. On the other hand, it must be admitted that no one then living could have made a more brilliant or masterful defense than did Senator Douglas under the peculiar circumstances in which he stood.[1]

The efforts of Mr. Lincoln in this canvass, and in the speeches he made the following year in Ohio and the East, brought him before the American people in an unexampled manner. From a somewhat obscure politician in Illinois, he awoke up to find himself one of the foremost antislavery leaders and popular orators in the United States.[2] Thus was made possible his nomination for the Presidency by the Republican party at Chicago, in May, 1860.[3]

The history of the campaign of 1860 and its outcome are well known. They need not be detailed here. It is perhaps sufficient to recall to mind the fact that the election of Mr. Lincoln was made possible by a division in the Democratic ranks—the Northern section supporting Mr. Douglas and the Southern Mr. Breckenridge. In Illinois the Republicans carried both the National and State tickets amid great enthusiasm and excitement.[4]

During the critical years that followed, Illinois stood

[1] See "Blaine," Vol. I., page 148, and following.

[2] The editor of the "Press and Tribune," in an editorial "Closing the Canvass," October 29, 1858, wrote: "He entered upon the canvass with a reputation confined to his own State; he closes it with his name a household word wherever the principles he holds are honored, and with the respect of his opponents in all sections of the country."

[3] He was nominated on the third ballot by 364 votes out of a total of 466, Mr. Seward being the chief competitor. "Press and Tribune," May 19, 1860.

[4] Lincoln's majority over Douglas was 11,996. "Press and Tribune," November 19, 1860.

faithfully by her great son, and Stephen A. Douglas led the Northern Democracy to the support of Mr. Lincoln in the dark days of 1861.

With the organization of a new and powerful political party, and the election of a President pledged to the ultimate extinction of slavery, the long period of slavery agitation drew to a close. The question was henceforth not one of political action, but of military force. The labors of the antislavery men had at length met with a well-deserved reward. It is not pretended here that the abolitionists brought about the final abolition of slavery in the United States, but their work contributed not a little to that end.

The antislavery men exerted an influence in two ways —morally and politically. For a period of over twenty years they agitated the subject of slavery throughout the North. They denounced it as a sin and a disgrace to the Nation. It is true that they were despised and hooted at when they began their labors, and that their zeal and exalted devotion to one idea often led them into the advocacy of measures too radical for the time, and of theories which savored too much of fanaticism—and perhaps of religious enthusiasm—to meet the approval of their fellow-citizens.

Their opponents took advantage of their errors to misrepresent them wilfully and woefully and to hold them up to ridicule. The abolitionists were, however, honest in their convictions, and ever faithful in the performance of what seemed to them an imperative duty. They were convinced that, in the main, they were right. It was a question of principle with them, not of men or of measures, and they proposed to fight it out on that line to the end. In the course of time these antislavery men, work-

ing through the press, the pulpit, and the stump, created the beginnings of an antislavery sentiment. It was small at first, but each year saw it increasing in strength and widening in influence. Steadily, earnestly, energetically, the abolitionists worked in each Northern State until in each section the people had been aroused to feel that slavery was a great moral and political evil. Then they joined hands from State to State throughout the North, worked with more harmony, unison, and organization, and at length saw their antislavery doctrine gradually meeting with some degree of universal acceptance.

Politically also their influence was considerable. At first they abstained from voting, but it was not long before they realized that only through political action could they expect to make any real headway against the evil of slavery.[1] Not being able to join with any of the existing political parties, because they did not recognize the slavery issue in their platforms, the antislavery men organized a party of their own on the single plank of opposition to slavery. In all the various forms of their political action —in the Liberty, the Free Soil, and the Free Democratic parties—they were aiming at the same result—the limitation and ultimate extinction of slavery. It was not many years before their vote was felt and sought for. In many sections they came to hold the balance of power, so that no candidate dared to run without declaring his position on the slavery question. By the election of a few capable Senators and Congressmen, they exerted an influence in national circles that was not to be despised.

It required much moral courage and great devotion to

[1] Referring to Lincoln, Mr. Eastman once said: "He is a politician, as every man must be who holds an important office, and such men, and only such, can kill slavery, because . . . . the life of slavery is its political power." Lecture on the "History of the Antislavery Agitation in the United States," read at Fishponds, near Bristol, England. Unpublished MS., page 44.

the cause to vote year after year for men whom it was impossible to elect. It was not an easy thing to work on term after term in the face of discouraging odds, innumerable obstacles, and irritating limitations—the least of which was the lack of financial facilities—and then, to be laughed and jeered at for one's pains. Enough cannot be said in praise of the self-sacrifice, the patient perseverance, the conscientious devotion to duty, the high sense of political honor, and withal, the genial liberality of these men. Never disheartened, but with unalterable faith in the justness and righteousness of their cause, they labored on confident of the ultimate victory of the right.

When at last they cast their votes for Lincoln and saw him elected, they felt that their day of triumph had come. All the devotion, the self-sacrifice, the labor, the trials, the discouragements, the hopes, and the triumphs of twenty years were concentrated in that ballot. It was a vote that paid. No citizen of the United States ever felt before or since such a sense of genuine pleasure and of just reward in any political act as an old-time antislavery man did sharing in the election of Abraham Lincoln.[1]

The abolitionists of Illinois shared the burden of agitation with their Eastern brethren, and long years of patient toil elapsed before the great political leaders of the State were ready to join hands with the Liberty men.

Much has been said and written in praise of Lincoln, Palmer, Trumbull, Yates, Oglesby, Judd, and others who, realizing that the slavery problem was a question of principle, of justice, and of national honor, threw themselves

[1] "It was just a twenty years' campaign with me. During that time I never voted with the least hope of success for my candidate, high or low, until I voted for Lincoln. That I voted with an emphasis. My political purchase for twenty years culminated in that vote. I feel now completely compensated for the twenty years ostracism from political life." Unpublished MS. of Mr. Z. Eastman—"Lecture on Political Questions of the Day."

into the contest with a zeal and devotion worthy of such a cause, and succeeded in carrying Illinois for the Republican party and for liberty. But sufficient justice has not yet been done the work of such self-sacrificing and conscientious men as Z. Eastman, Owen Lovejoy, I. Codding, and James Collins, who, in the midst of persecution, poverty, and tremendous difficulties, cleared the ground and prepared the way for the results of 1860.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PROGRESS OF SENTIMENT ON THE NEGRO QUESTION.

1840–1875.

Before 1840, and for several years after, the negro had no legal status in Illinois. He was an ostracized individual, existing, by the sufferance of the people of Illinois, without citizenship and without social recognition. Before the Illinois Supreme Court decisions of 1843 and 1845 there were three classes of negroes: indentured servants (those serving out a limited period of time); French slaves (a few negroes bound to perpetual servitude); and the free colored people. This distinction was made as late as December, 1845.[1] The condition of the indentured negroes and of the French slaves has already been described. Also, the story of how they acquired their freedom has been told. Therefore we will here confine our remarks to a discussion of the free colored people and their status in Illinois before the Civil War.

As we have seen, negroes in the early forties were not allowed to vote,[2] to sue for their liberty in the courts,[3] to serve as witnesses,[4] to hold property,[5] to serve in the

[1] The negro population of Madison County was reported in December, 1845, as follows: "Free males, 223; free females, 209; indentured, 3, and unindentured (French), 8."—Alton Telegraph, December 6, 1845. See also Statutes, 1829, Act to Provide for the Census, Sec. 3, passed January 13; approved March 8, 1845; Revised Statutes, 1845, same three classes described.

[2] Constitution of 1818, Art. 12, Legal Voters: "All *white* male inhabitants above twenty-one years of age and actual residents of the State."

[3] Illinois Statutes, 1829, "Act on Negroes," etc., passed January 17, Sec. 4. First acquired by negroes through the case of Jarrot vs. Jarrot in 1845.

[4] Illinois Statutes, 1827, "An Act Concerning Practice." Sec. 3, dated February 2.

[5] This was regulated by custom rather than by any measure of the Legislature. The people of Southern and Central Illinois were bitterly opposed to any

State militia,[1] or reside in the State without showing a certificate of freedom at some County Commissioner's Court and giving a thousand dollars bond that they would never become a county charge.[2]

Public offices of every kind were closed to them. For the most part, schools, academies, and colleges were not open to them. There were few trades or lines of employment in which it was easy for them to secure work. Lest they should attempt to form alliances with the whites, which might tend to give them some sort of social standing, intermarriage between the negroes and the white people was forbidden under severe penalty.[3] With the exception of Chicago and one or two other sections in the northern part, and Eden—with possibly Upper Alton and Belleville—in the southern portion, they were not well received, but on the contrary abused and ill-treated. Even in the places where they were well treated, it was only the few who had any regard or consideration for them, their rights, or their welfare.

"Despised and rejected of men," the poor colored people realized that freedom in Illinois was not without its drawbacks. They were allowed to exist free, it is true. No one could force them into slavery, but the people of Illinois granted them little else. The great majority of citizens did not care to see Illinois an out-and-out slave state, nor were they anxious to see the

holding of lands by negroes, and even to any settling of them in the State. The attitude of the framers of the proposed constitution of 1861-2 shows this plainly. See Art. XVIII., page 1098, of the Journal of 1861.

[1] Illinois Statutes, 1826, January 25; "Act for the Organization and Government of Militia." Sec. 1, confined to "All *free white* male inhabitants" between eighteen and forty-five years. See same in Constitution of 1818 and 1845, under Malitia.

[2] Illinois Statutes, 1826, January 17, "Act on Negroes," etc., Sec. 1.

[3] Statutes of Illinois, 1829, January 17, "An Act on Negroes," etc., Sec. 3. Also a severe penalty was to be inflicted upon any officer of the State who should grant a license or marry any negro to a white. This was a blow primarily at the abolitionists, who were falsely said to have advocated "*amalgamation*."

existing condition of the negro improved or changed. But rather, as was said so many times later during the fifties, they preferred just to let him alone—to let him enjoy his "right" to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" as best he might.

This policy of "*Laissez faire*," however, could not go on forever. It was shaken to its foundations a few years later, when the abolitionists and other antislavery men in force began to travel up and down the State advocating equality, citizenship, education, and moral training for the negro. But it was a long time before the policy of the State really changed, or the status of the colored people radically altered. So slow has been the movement toward granting complete equality that in some sections of the State there has been but little advance over the conditions of 1840–1845. Indeed, it is extremely doubtful whether they will ever acquire anything like complete equality in the southern portion of this State.

The presence of the free negro in the State has always been a source of irritation and discomfort to the people of Illinois, especially to those living south of Springfield. One of the most vexatious and troublous problems that his existence here has forced upon our citizens is the question of negro education. Shall he be educated at all? and if so, shall he be educated together with the white children, or in schools provided especially for him? These questions were asked and discussed when schools and colleges were first founded in the State. They have been questions of vital importance ever since; and to-day in some parts of Southern Illinois the final solution of them has not yet been reached.

When, on January 15, 1825, the Legislature passed "An Act to Provide for the Establishment of Free

Schools," they decreed that a common school should be established in each county which should "be open and free to every class of *white* citizens between the ages of five and twenty-one."[1] From that time until 1872 the Legislature has persisted in recognizing the public schools as institutions for white children only.[2] In the special acts to incorporate schools in the various towns and cities it was always the white children who were to be benefitted. This was true as late as 1869,[3] and in places as far north as Naperville.[4] Not satisfied with closing the public schools to the negroes, the legislators went a step further. In December, 1826, they passed a law concerning the apprenticeship of children, in which it was provided: "That the master or mistress to whom such child shall be bound as aforesaid shall cause such child to be taught to read and write and the ground rules of arithmetic, ... except when such apprentice is a *negro* or *mulatto*."[5] This was kept in force until the Supreme Court of the State declared the holding of negro apprentices illegal, in 1845.[6] Furthermore, the legislators seem to have had no compunction about compelling the free negroes to pay taxes for schools from which they derived no benefit.[7] It was not until 1855 that any notice appears to have been taken of this injustice. In that year the Legislature provided

[1] Statutes of Illinois, January 15, "An Act to Provide for the Establishment of Free Schools," Sec. 1.

[2] Statutes of Illinois, 1872. "Act to Establish Schools," dated April 1, is the first which fails to use the word *white*.

[3] Statutes of Illinois, 1869, March 24—Tuscola Union, Douglas County.

[4] Statutes of Illinois, 1863, June 13—Naperville Graded Schools.

[5] Statutes of Illinois, 1826, December 30, "Act respecting Apprentices," Sec. 4.

[6] This Section of the Act on "Apprentices" appears for the last time in the Revised Edition of Statutes of Illinois, 1845, approved March 3, 1845.

[7] The "Alton Telegraph" published an editorial on April 14, 1853, praising Ohio for establishing schools for colored children, and criticising Illinois for taking money from the blacks to educate the white children; but to no purpose. The Legislature and people paid no heed.

that: "In townships where there are persons of color the Board of Trustees shall allow such persons a portion of the school fund equal to the amount of taxes collected for school purposes from such persons of color, in their respective townships."[1] The ostensible purpose of this regulation would seem to have been the establishment of free schools for the negroes. But no other provisions were made to secure such an end. Nor does the State ever appear to have seriously attempted any such movement.[2]

We must not conclude from what has just been stated that the negroes were entirely precluded from enjoying the advantages of a common school education before the war. In the early days, when schools were first being established in the State, there were two notable exceptions at least, among the numerous institutions for "white children between the ages of five and twenty-one." The earlier of these exceptions was the public school at Alton. This was incorporated in 1821 by an Act which provided that "*every* child of suitable age" should attend.[3] This would not necessarily imply that colored children were intended to be included in the word "every." But when we remember that until three or four years ago, when the city officials of Alton by skilful management shifted all the colored scholars into two schools where they were to be taught by themselves, the white and the negro children attended the same schools, we may then safely conclude that the first school was open to both. At any rate, if this was not so at the very first, it was not many years before colored children were tolerated in the Alton public schools.

[1] Statutes of Illinois, 1885, School Act, Sec. 79-81, dated February 15.

[2] The State Superintendent of Schools, at Springfield, possesses to-day no data even on the colored schools in the State.

[3] Statutes of Illinois, "An Act for Appointing Trustees for the Town of Alton," approved January 30, 1822.

The second exception, and the earliest case it would seem, where the intention to admit negroes was clear and decided, was the Hamilton Primary School in Jersey County. This was founded by Dr. Silas Hamilton, who left by his will, dated the 20th of October, 1834,[1] four thousand dollars, of which two thousand was to be used to erect a suitable[2] building and two thousand was to be reserved as an endowment fund for the support of a teacher.[3] There seems to have been some little delay in getting the institution started, but it was finally incorporated by the State Legislature on February 1, 1840. In that act it was provided that "the said school shall be open to *all classes* of people and denominations of Christians."[4] This was in accordance with the wishes of Dr. Hamilton, who, we are assured by those who have had charge of the finances of this school for years, desired that the negroes of the district might enjoy the advantages of education. A number of colored children attended it during the forties and fifties,[5] as well as a goodly number of white children, some of whom came later to be numbered among Illinois's most prominent sons.[6]

As the years went on and the antislavery sentiment grew powerful in Northern Illinois, the colored people were suffered to attend the public schools without moles-

[1] This will was probated at Carrollton (Greene County), and a copy of part of it may be seen in the County Records at Jerseyville, Jersey County, Ill.

[2] "Suitable for a school and for a place of worship," reads the will.

[3] And "for the benefit of my friends and relations in this neighborhood," reads the will.

[4] Statutes of Illinois, 1840—"Act to Establish Hamilton Primary School," approved February 1.

[5] One of these—George Washington Hamilton—inherited a considerable sum of money from Dr Hamilton, and being thrifty and capable, he accumulated quite a little fortune before he died. He left $1,500 to build a monument for his master and benefactor, and $10,000 to educate negro people. This fund, now amounting to about $18,000, is under the control of a committee of five, and supports from three to seven negroes annually at the Hampton Institute in North Carolina.

[6] Such as Hon. T. S. Chapman, S. V. (Deacon) White, Levi Sidway, General John Hamilton, Judge Stillwell, and others.

tation or question in many places. In the matter of higher education the attitude of the Illinoisans towards the free colored people was practically the same as it was regarding their admittance to the public schools. In the "Act to incorporate Jerseyville Academy"—one of the earliest of the academies to be founded—it was provided that "the Academy, when erected and in operation, shall at all times be open for the use and privilege of any *free white person* within the United States."[1]

Similar provisions are to be found in the acts of incorporation of many other academies,[2] and also in the General Act "to incorporate Academies and Seminaries of Learning,"[3] passed March 6, 1843.[4] It is true that many of these academies[5] and practically all the colleges[6] were, like Alton College (now Shurtleff), "open to all persons of good morals."[7] This sounds well, but if we could visit every one of these institutions and investigate their records which antedate 1860, we should doubtless find very few, if any, that actually admitted colored students within their walls before that date. For, in many sections, negroes were very far from being considered as "persons of good morals," and there seems to have been, throughout the State, except in the strong abolition cen-

[1] Statutes of Illinois, 1837, March 1: "An Act to incorporate Jerseyville Academy."

[2] See Statutes of Illinois:
1837, February 24: "An Act to incorporate Rushville Academy."
1841, February 27: "An Act to incorporate Juliet Academy" (Will Co.).
1841, February 27: "An Act to incorporate Naperville Academy."
1839, March 2: "An Act to incorporate Warren County Male and Female Seminary," etc.

[3] These were replaced later by our present system of high schools.

[4] Statutes of Illinois, 1843; also in Revised Statutes, 1845, and approved.

[5] Statutes of Illinois, 1836-7-40; Lacon, Gramicle, Griggsville, Peoria, Pittsfield, Quincy Academies, etc.

[6] Statutes of Illinois, 1833-40; "Union," "McDonough," "Belvidere," "Knox," "Stonington," "Hanover," "St. Mary's," "Rush," etc.

[7] Statutes of Illinois, 1833; "An Act to incorporate Alton College," approved March 1, Sec. 7.

tres in the north, a most decided opposition to the education of colored people.

Previous to the sixties there was but one serious attempt made to secure the admission of the negro to the public schools. The committee on education at the Constitutional convention of 1847, of which John M. Palmer was a leading member, proposed to introduce a clause in the new Constitution authorizing the General Assembly to provide a system of common schools "equally *free* to *all* the children of the State."[1] This was ruled out, however, in the convention, and no real change occurred in the situation until the schools were made free to all—white and black alike—in 1872.[2]

As the antislavery propaganda began to find support in Illinois, petitions were sent to the Legislature, asking for the repeal of the "Black Laws," which practically ostracized the negro.[3] No heed was paid to them. All the agitation of the abolitionists for twenty years could effect nothing on this point. In fact, the antipathy of the whites for the negroes, and the desire to keep the colored people out of everything—politically and socially—seem to have increased with the growth of the agitation for their freedom.

Mr. Kitchell, in the Illinois Senate in 1829, struck the keynote of the policy toward the free negroes, which was to be carried out consistently and persistently by the leaders of the State's politics until the close of the Civil War. He said: "Their residence among us, even as servants, ... is productive of moral and political evil. . . . .

[1] Report of the committee, section 3; J. M. Palmer's Unpublished Memoirs, 1847, pages 8 and 10.

[2] Statutes of Illinois, 1872: "Act to Establish and Maintain a System of Free Schools."

[3] See the "Western Citizen," February 9, 1843; January 16, 30, 1845; September 19, 1848; "Chicago Journal," December 3, 1844; January 9, 1845; September 15, 1848, and many others

The natural difference between them and ourselves forbids the idea that they should ever be permitted to participate with us in the political affairs of our government."[1] The immigration of negroes into the State was therefore to be discouraged, since it would be a great calamity to have Illinois overrun with free blacks who, if allowed to vote, might get the control of the Government into their hands. This was the attitude not only of the residents of Southern Illinois, but also of nearly every good Democrat in the State.[2]

Although nothing was done by the Senate in that year (1829) to forbid the settling of free negroes in the State, the Legislature began at once to place obstacles in their way. Ten days after Mr. Kitchell's speech, an act was passed making it obligatory upon every free colored person desiring to reside in the State to show a certificate of freedom and to give a thousand-dollar bond that he would keep the laws and never become a County or State charge.[3]

In 1831 it was provided further that no colored person should be allowed to enter the State until he had first shown a certificate of freedom and given the required bond.[4] It would have been most difficult to enforce this, as it would have entailed an extensive system of police along the boundary of Illinois. There is no evidence that the attempt was ever made to put this regulation into effect, yet it shows the spirit of the Legislature.

The House in 1845, by way of answer to the numerous petitions for the repeal of the "Black Laws" just

[1] Senate Journal, 1828–29, page 182.

[2] The same attitude was assumed later by such Democratic leaders as S. A. Douglas, J. Wentworth, and J. A. Logan.

[3] Statutes of Illinois, 1829, "An Act on Negroes," etc., Sec. 1.

[4] Statutes of Illinois, 1831, "An Act on Negroes," etc.

then pouring into the Legislative halls, declared that "the laws prohibiting the marriage of whites and blacks ought not to be repealed, and that free negroes ought not to be allowed to vote." [1]

By 1847 the sentiment had grown strong in favor of prohibiting entirely the immigration of free negroes into the State. In June at the Constitutional convention [2] of that year, Mr. Singleton read a petition [3] praying for action against the free negroes, and proposed that the introduction of free colored persons into the State be prohibited, and that the question be submitted to popular vote. Accordingly, in Article XIV. of the proposed Constitution of 1848, the Legislature was empowered to pass acts at its first session, which shall "effectually prohibit free persons of color from immigrating to and settling in this State." [4]

The vote on this article was taken separately, and in spite of the labors of the antislavery men, the "Western Citizen" and a number of Whig and Democratic papers, it was adopted by a majority of 28,182.[5] In addition, the Constitution of 1848, which denied the right of suffrage and of service in the State militia to the negro,[6] was approved by a majority of 44,028 votes.[7]

The question now was, Would the Legislature really enact laws to prevent the immigration of free blacks into Illinois? The people were not kept long in waiting. In January, 1853, Mr. John A. Logan brought forward a bill[8] making the introduction of a free colored person into

[1] House Journal, 1845, January 8 or 9; also "Chicago Journal," January 11.
[2] Held at Springfield.
[3] Signed by H. G. Grimsley and five others.
[4] Convention Journal, pages 95–6.
[5] Official returns given in "Western Citizen," April 25, 1848.
[6] Constitution of 1848, Articles VI. (Sec. 1) and VIII.
[7] "Western Citizen," April 25, 1848.
[8] House Journal, 1853, page 271.

the State a crime punishable by a fine of one hundred dollars to five hundred dollars, and rendering any negro who came into Illinois liable, within ten days, to arrest and fine. If he had no money, he must serve out in labor his fine and the costs of the trial. After some debate, in which Mr. Logan was prominent, the bill passed the House on February 5, by a vote of forty-five to twenty-three,[1] and the Senate approved it on the 11th by a majority of four.[2]

The framers of this law had evidently two purposes in view. In the first place, they wished to satisfy their own and their constituents' desires in regard to keeping the colored people out of the State. In the second, they wished to conciliate their Southern neighbors. This latter object they thought to accomplish by a special provision in the new law, giving owners the right to "claim, prove, and take back" their fugitive slaves on payment of the costs.[3] It was intended, moreover, as a blow at the abolitionists; and the success of the measure is to be entirely credited to the Democratic party, at that time in control of the Legislature, which hated the negro as much as it did every species of antislavery agitation.

The passage of the act raised an intense and extended discussion all over the State. In the northern part, numerous mass meetings were held and the bill was universally condemned. The press was quite generally opposed to it, and outspoken in its condemnation. Only a few Democratic sheets, devoted to the administration, attempted any defense.[4] But, while the Free Democrats,

[1] House Journal, 1853, pages 363–4, 442–3. Mr. Logan of course voted for this measure, and a few days before he voted, with an enormous majority of 58 to 7, not to repeal the "Black Laws." Journal, page 364.

[2] Senate Journal, 1853, February 11. The Governor signed the act on the 12th.

[3] Statutes of Illinois, 1853: "An Act to Prevent the Immigration of Free Negroes into the State." Sections 1–9.

[4] The "Alton Telegraph" claimed, March 12, 1853, that the "Quincy Herald" and the "State Register" (Springfield) were the only ones that supported the law.

Northern Whigs, and many Democrats united in criticising it, it is doubtless true that the majority of citizens were not opposed to such a law in general. Many thought the provisions of this Act of 1853 too radical and too stringent. Some, like that conservative Democratic paper, the "Alton Telegraph," feared that it might virtually establish slavery in Illinois.[1] But the general sentiment seems to have been that it was unconstitutional, and that it could not and would not be enforced.[2]

The question naturally arises, Was the Act of 1853 ever put in force? Yes. At least three cases[3] of the arrest and sale of negroes are reported within a year of its passage. The actual sale of the last of these did not take place, because the negro in question was a fugitive, and by a writ of habeas corpus, his case was brought before Judge Skinner almost immediately. The Judge declared that Section VIII. of the Act of 1853 was illegal and void, since it assumed to legislate on a subject over which Congress had been granted exclusive control by the Constitution of the United States.[4]

The negro was accordingly discharged from custody; but while this decision nullified one part of the law of 1853, the remainder continued in force until January, 1864. At that time, the Illinois Supreme Court decided, in the case of Nelson vs. the People,[5] that the sale of a negro under the Act of 1853 did not reduce him to slavery. Finally, just as the Civil War was closing,

[1] Issue of February 21, 1853.

[2] See "Alton Courier," March 4, 1853; also "Chicago Journal," "Press," "Galena Jeffersonian," "Belleville Advocate," etc., of about the same date.

[3] See "Chicago Journal," July 1, 1853; "Nashville Monitor," "Galena Jeffersonian," August 1, "Quincy Whig," November 24; also "Belleville Advocate" and "Alton Telegraph," December 9, 1853, Dec. 14, 1853.

[4] Judge Skinner based his judgment upon the decision of the Illinois Supreme Court in Thornton's case. Illinois cases, page 332.

[5] 33 Illinois, page 390.

the General Assembly repealed the much-controverted measure.[1]

In spite of all the agitation incident to the passage and enforcement of the law of 1853, and the triumph of the Republican, or Anti-Nebraska, party, in 1856, the attitude of the majority of Illinoisans toward the negro, *per se*, was not materially changed. They were perhaps willing to allow negro residents the privilege of remaining in the State, provided they obeyed the laws and were peaceful. But they still had no desire to make them citizens, to let them hold office, possess property, or attend the free schools. Nor did they wish others to immigrate into the State.

At the Constitutional convention held in Springfield in 1862, an article referring to negroes and numbered XVIII. was added on March 5 to the proposed Constitution. It read as follows:

Sec. 1. "No Negro or Mulatto shall migrate or settle in this State, after the adoption of this Constitution."

Sec. 2. "No Negro or Mulatto shall have the right of suffrage, or hold any office in this State."

Sec. 3. "The General Assembly shall pass all laws necessary to carry into effect the provisions of this article."[2]

The first of these sections was adopted by a vote of 57 to 7,[3] the second by 42 to 20,[4] and the last by a ballot of 45 to 18.[5] This article was to be submitted to a special vote of the people along with the Constitution, and each

[1] Statutes of Illinois, 1865, "An Act to Repeal Section 16," etc., approved February 7.

[2] Convention Journal, 1862, page 1098 (in Constitution).

[3] Convention Journal, 1862, page 692.

[4] Convention Journal, 1862, page 693.

[5] The party strength in that convention was as follows: Democrats, 45; Republicans, 21; Fusionists, 7; doubtful, 2.

section was to be balloted on separately. The origin of this measure no doubt lay with the Democrats, who were in majority at the convention, yet it is interesting to note that the convention was nearly a unit in favoring the (first) section that prohibited negro immigration into the State.

The popular vote on the proposed Constitution of 1862 was taken in August of that year. Its result was most remarkable. The Constitution itself was defeated by a majority of 16,051 votes.[1] This was caused, partly by the disgust and distrust created in many minds by the unusual claims of supreme authority made by the Convention, and partly by the fear that such a strongly partisan Constitution would throw the whole State Government completely into the control of the Democratic party.[2] The vote on the negro article was entirely independent of that on the Constitution proper. The first section, prohibiting the immigration of negroes into Illinois, was approved by a majority of 100,590 votes;[3] the second—to prevent negroes from holding office and from voting—was adopted by the enormous majority of 176,271,[3] only 35,649 voting against it; and the final section, authorizing the Legislature to make the laws necessary to enforce the above, was passed by 154,524 majority.[4] No better commentary than this vote can be found on the real attitude of the people of Illinois toward the negro at that time. They did not want him in the State. They were determined to keep him out, and those of his kind who happened to be already residing in Illinois they would let remain on mere sufferance, but would grant them none of

[1] Official vote as given in "Alton Telegraph," August 15, 1862: see also in Davidson & Stuvé's "Illinois," page 877.

[2] See Davidson & Stuvé's "Illinois," pages 872–7, and papers of the time.

[3] "Alton Telegraph," August 15, 1862.

[4] "Alton Telegraph," August 15, 1862.

the rights or privileges of citizenship. The result of the Civil War did not greatly affect the prevalent opinion on these points. The fact that a Republican State Legislature repealed all the "Black Laws" and the Act of 1853, in February, 1865,[1] and within the next four years approved the XIII., XIV., and XV. amendments to the Constitution of the United States,[2] does not prove that the opinion of the majority of the people as to negro suffrage and negro citizenship had materially changed. A few years could not bring about such a radical transformation. Even the lapse of a quarter of a century has failed to bring about any universal transformation in this regard throughout the State.

The question has long since ceased to be of political importance. In the centre and north of the State, the people have become accustomed to the presence of the negro in schools and in public life, and the subject of his right to citizenship has ceased to be discussed—even to be thought of. In the southern section, on the contrary, the question is still a vital one. The negro is despised and hated as of old, and if a vote could now be taken, it would doubtless be astonishing to find what a large proportion of our citizens—not only in the south, but among the more liberal residents of the centre and north of Illinois—would ballot to deprive the negro of the right to vote or to hold office. But why this long and persistent opposition to the poor colored man? The reasons are various. First, there was, and is, the deep-seated antipathy of the white for the black. Then the idea prevailed for many years, that the introduct on of the negro into the

[1] Statutes of Illinois, 1865, February 7, "Act to Repeal Section 16," etc.

[2] Approved the XIII. on February 1, 1865; the XIV. in January, 1867; and the XV. in 1869. See Statutes of Illinois, 1865, page 135; Statutes of Illinois, 1869, page 417; House Journal, 1867, page 155. Senate Journal, 1867, page 76.

State meant the influx of a vast colored population, together with the necessary granting to them of equality and citizenship with the whites. Such a possibility was regarded a grave misfortune for the State, should it ever occur. Further: opposition to the negro immigration and citizenship was one of the cardinal principles of the Democratic party, which controlled the politics of Illinois for so many years. The great strength of the Democracy lay in the never-failing support of the "Solid South"—the region (let us say) south of Springfield. The people of that region, as we have seen, were largely Southern in blood and sympathies. To them the idea of negro equality was most obnoxious, and all plans for preventing an influx of blacks were most popular. The very presence of the colored people was irritating. These people, moreover, were as narrow-minded and stubborn as they were kind-hearted and hospitable. They have insisted upon retaining their dislike to the negro, and have never approved of granting him equality and citizenship. The presence of a large population thus predisposed and immovably grounded in its opposition to the person of the negro was a great barrier toward the elevation of the colored race in the State. Another thing doubtless played some part in retarding the "Pro-Negro" movement. The continuous and persistent agitation of the abolitionists aroused many of the citizens in all sections, but especially in the south of Illinois, to a more bitter opposition than ever to the poor colored man. Finally, many believed that it would be impossible to educate the negroes, and unwise by reason of their color and their capacities to allow them a share in the government with the white people.

Since the war, the status of the negro has gradually

improved in Northern and Central Illinois. He now occupies a place in society, holds public offices, exercises the right of suffrage, and sends his children to the public schools. He acquired these privileges only gradually, and after a struggle. It was necessary for the Legislature in 1874 to pass an act laying a severe penalty on any person who should prevent colored children by force or intimidation from attending the free schools, before the negroes could avail themselves of that right in peace and security. Before that time a great deal of excitement and trouble ensued in many places—as in Springfield[1] and in Jo Daviess County[2]—over admitting them to the High School and the public schools. Special schools for colored children were started in various places[3] and continued for a time, though it was hard at first to get teachers for them. The school question was largely settled in the north after the passage of the Act of 1874.

In the southern part of Illinois, matters have not changed much, and lines are still very closely drawn. Colored schools exist in many places. Alton has forced its colored people out into schools by themselves. In some towns a colored man is not allowed to take up his residence[4]—hardly to stay over night. In others[5] an open feud exists between the races, and on the whole, a state of affairs very similar to that in the Southern States

[1] See 1st Annual Report of Superintendent of Schools, Springfield. There was considerable commotion caused in Springfield over the admittance of the *first* colored person—*Gertie Wright* into the High School. She was admitted on October 7, 1873. Mr. Brooks—Superintendent in 187[illegible]5—gave me much interesting information on this point, and on the colored schools and the relation of the negroes to the schools in Springfield.

[2] "History of Jo Daviess County," page 363.

[3] In Springfield, December 21, 1858, to November 4, 1873. See "Report of Schools," page 85, and following. In Vandalia, 1870–75. Testimony of Mr. Estercy, present Superintendent of Schools.

[4] Testimony of A. C. Glenn, concerning his place of residence, Marissa, Ill.

[5] Carterville, for example, where five negroes were shot down in the streets three years ago.

exists there.[1] The colored man finds it most difficult to get even justice or a slight regard for his rights, and the negro question still exists waiting for a solution. So, too, it awaits in the Southern States. How and when it will be solved no one can tell, but solved it must be before peace and concord can prevail throughout this State and this Country. The interests of humanity and of good government demand that the eminent and gifted statesmen of our land should devote a portion of their time and energies to an earnest and enlightened endeavor to discover some practical solution of this racial problem.

[1] Note the lynching at Danville in July, 1903.

APPENDIX I.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The present scattered state of the sources of Illinois history has rendered the task of consulting and obtaining authorities for this work a difficult one. The author does not claim to have discovered all the sources for the different periods of Illinois history under consideration. The following list of authorities is presented merely as the result of a year and a quarter's research and of three months' travel, and it stands open to improvement, doubtless, in many respects.

The materials from which this work has been prepared have been found in the following places: Chicago Historical Society; Newberry Library (Chicago); Chicago Public Library; Wisconsin Historical Society (Madison); Cincinnati Public Library; Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio (Cincinnati); St. Louis Mercantile Library; Office of the "Missouri Republic" (St. Louis); Missouri Historical Society (St. Louis); State Historical Library, Springfield, Ill.; Secretary of State's Document Room, Springfield; Public Library, Champaign, Ill. (E. G. Mason Collection); Alton Public Library; Belleville Public Library; Office of the Alton Telegraph (Alton); Office of the Greenville Advocate; and the county seats[1] of Gallatin (Shawneetown), Madison (Edwardsville), St. Clair (Belleville), Jersey (Jerseyville), Green (Carrollton), Bond (Greenville), Fayette (Vandalia), Randolph (Chester), Jackson (Murphysborough), and Sangamon (Springfield) counties.

Information has also been secured from collections of newspapers and other material in the possession of the following persons: Miss F. Dolbee, Alton, Ill.; Hon. Sidney Eastman, Chicago; the late Thomas Blanchard, Chicago; the late Hon. J. M. Palmer, Springfield; and from personal interviews or correspondence with Nathaniel Niles, Belleville; Benjamin W. West, Belleville; Rev. J. Wylie, Sparta; James Hood, Sparta; Chas.

[1] County Clerks' offices.

Carroll, Jr., Shawneetown; Hon. Theodore Chapman, Jerseyville; Mrs. Zebina Eastman, Chicago; Thomas Dimmock, St. Louis; the late Hon. John M. Palmer, Springfield; Hon. R. W. Ross, Vandalia; Ezra Jenkins, Sr., Vandalia; Judge S. A. Phelps, Greenville; Rev. M. Jameson, D.D., Alton; Dr. Samuel Willard, Chicago; and G. M. McConnel, Chicago.

As a matter of convenience, the sources are arranged in accord with four periods of Illinois History.

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Narrative and Critical History of the United States, Winsor, Vols. IV. and V.

The Winning of the West, Roosevelt, New York, 1899.

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History of Illinois and Louisiana under French Rule, by James Wallace, Cincinnati, 1893.

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DOCUMENTARY SOURCES.

Records of Elections, No. 1, Document Room, Springfield.

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Illinois Constitution of 1818.

Journal of House (Illinois), 1823-1824; 1824-1825.

Journal of Senate,[1] 1823-1824 (portion quoted by Mr. Churchill

[1] There is no copy of the Senate Journal of 1823-4 now in existence.

in his Annotations in the *Alton Telegraph*, and by Warren in the *Edwardsville Spectator*, 1823-1824).

Journal of the Senate, 1824-1825.

Annals of the Congress of the United States, 1787-1824, 42 Vols., Washington, 1834-1856.

Abridgment of Debates in Congress, 29 Vols., Washington, 1825-1837.

LETTERS AND PAMPHLETS.

Early Days in Madison County,[1] a series of letters to the *Alton Telegraph* in 1865, especially Nos. 29 (February 24) to 43 (June 16), by Rev. Thomas Lippencott.

Annotations,[1] a series of letters, Nos. 1-15, commenting on the above, by George Churchill, in the *Alton Telegraph*, March 24 to August 11, 1865.

Letter of Governor Coles to Mr. Lippencott, *Alton Telegraph*, February 24, 1865.

Letter of Hooper Warren to Mr. Lippencott, *Alton Telegraph*, March 3, 1865.

Editorial on "Voice from the Past," by H. Warren in *Genius of Liberty*, December 19, 1840.

Editorial on "Ford's Illinois," by H. Warren in *Free West*, December 21, 1854.

Reminiscences, letters by H. Warren in *Free West*, May 3 and 10, 1855.

Peck and Coles, letter by H. Warren, in *Free West*, July 5, 1855.

[1] Mr. George Churchill was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives in 1823-4, and the Rev. Thomas Lippencott was Secretary of the Senate during the same period. In 1865, upon request of some friends, Mr. Lippencott, who had published a pamphlet on Governor Coles (no copy of which I have been able to find), wrote a series of articles to the Alton Telegraph to make plain the contest of 1823-4 concerning slavery. Mr. Lippencott seems to have relied almost entirely on his memory for his facts. After Mr. Lippencott's letters began to appear, Mr. Churchill undertook to correct and enlarge upon Mr. Lippencott's articles in a series of letters which he (Mr. Churchill) designated as annotations. These annotations are extremely valuable not only because Mr. Churchill was a man very clear and exact in his statements, but also, and chiefly, because he substantiated his remarks with quotations from, and references to, the sources which he used. He speaks of his authorities as "a defective memory, a number of imperfect newspaper files, and a very imperfect diary kept only for a short period." (Alton Telegraph, March 24, 1865.) He seems also to have possessed a copy of the Senate and House Journals for the Sessions of 1823-4, since he makes frequent quotations from them, giving page and date.

Letters from J. M. Peck, on the struggle of 1823–1824; *Free West*, April 6, 12; May 3, 1855.

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Recollections of Early Illinois and her Noted Men, by Hon. Jos. Gillespie, Fergus Historical Series, No. 13.

Ninian Edwards Papers, Chicago Historical Society Collections, No. 3.

Journal of a Journey in the West, J. Woods, 1820.

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The Spectator, Edwardsville, 1819 (May to December).

The Spectator, Edwardsville, 1820–1826.

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The Illinois Intelligencer,[1] Vandalia, February 20, 1821; October 12 and December 7, 1822.

Star of the West,[2] Edwardsville, Nov. 30, 1822.

Illinois Gazette,[2] Shawneetown, August 3, 1822.

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Missouri Gazette, St. Louis, 1819–1820.

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St. Louis Enquirer, St. Louis, 1819–1820 (series of odd numbers).

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Sketch of Edward Coles, E. B. Washburne, Chicago, 1882.

History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois, George Flower, Chicago Historical Society Collections, Vol. I.

[1] The Illinois Intelligencer was removed from Kaskaskia to Vandalia in 1820.

[2] These fragments are in the Mercantile Library, St. Louis. They were presented by the Rev. J. M. Peck, to that Library, together with the file of the Edwardsville Spectator, named above. There are no other numbers of these papers now in existence, as far as I know.

[3] The Missouri Gazette changed its name to Missouri Republican in 1821, and is now the *Missouri Republic*.

The Pioneer History of Illinois, J. Reynolds, Belleville, 1852.

The History of Illinois, Ford, Chicago, 1854.

A Complete History of Illinois from 1637 to 1873, Davidson and Stuvé, Springfield, 1874.

Illinois, Historical and Statistical, Moses, Vol. I., Chicago, 1889.

History of Illinois and Life of Ninian Edwards, by his son, N. W. Edwards, Springfield, 1870.

History of St. Clair County, Chicago, 1881.

History of Randolph, Monroe, and Perry Counties, Philadelphia, 1883.

Good Old Times in McLean County, Dr. E. Duis, Bloomington, 1874.

History of Jackson County, Philadelphia, 1878.

History of Green County, Chicago, 1870.

History of Edwards, Lawrence, and Wabash Counties, Philadelphia, 1883.

History of Madison County, Edwardsville, 1882.

History of Pike County, Chicago, 1880.

Early Chicago and Illinois, E. G. Mason, Chicago Historical Society Collections, No. 4, 1890.

PERIOD III.—1824–1840.

DOCUMENTARY SOURCES.

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Statutes of Illinois, 1818; 1819–1823; 1824–1839.

State Records, see Period II.

County Records, same as under Period I, and

Record of Freedom Papers, Gallatin County, 1846–1862.

Registry of Negroes and Mulattoes, St. Clair County, March 26, 1846, to September 24, 1863.

Slave Papers (in a tin box), preserved in County Clerk's office in Edwardsville, Madison County, 1831–1851.

Records of the Probate Court of Sangamon County, No. B, 1824–1840.

Records of the Probate Court of Fayette County, 1820–1840.

Records of County Clerk, No. B (Freedom Papers), Randolph County, 1825 to April 13, 1863.

Deed Records, No. D, Jackson County, 1840–1843.

Records of County Clerk of Madison County, No. 2, 1821–1825.

Supreme Court Decisions, Reports, 1824–1836.

Will Records of St. Clair County, No. 2, 1830 to 1840; No. 3, 1840–1850.

CONTEMPORARY AUTHORITIES.

Memoir of Lovejoy, by his brothers, Alton, 1838.

Alton Riots and Lovejoy, Edward Beecher, 1838.

Notes on the Alton Trials, Lincoln, Alton, 1838.

Lovejoy, article in the *Alton Observer*, December 28, 1837, by a friend of Mr. Lovejoy.

The Mayor's Account of the Events of November 7, 1837, *Alton Telegraph*, November 15, 1837.

Personal Recollections connected with the murder of Lovejoy, Rev. T. B. Hurlbut,[1] in *Chicago Tribune*, June 12, 1874.

NEWSPAPERS.

St. Louis Observer[2] (St. Louis), September 3, 1835–July 21, 1836.

Alton Observer (Alton and Cincinnati), "Extra," August 10, 1836; September 8, 1836, to August 21, 1837; December 28, 1837, to April 19, 1838.

Alton Telegraph (Alton), 1836–1838; and June 28, 1845, article on "Editorial Reminiscences."

Western Pioneer (Upper Alton), 1830–1838 (especially issue of July 14, 1836).

Missouri Argus (St. Louis), May to December, 1837; January, 1838.

Missouri Republican (St. Louis), 1835–1838.

St. Louis Times[3] (St. Louis), August 14, 1830, to February 18, 1832.

Peoria Register (Peoria), 1837–1839.

[1] Mr. Hurlbut was a warm personal friend of Lovejoy and a participant in the events of November, 1837, at Alton.

[2] The Observer, edited by Lovejoy, was published first in St. Louis, then in Alton, and after Lovejoy's death, by Elisha W. Chester, as editor, at Cincinnati.

[3] Mr. Lovejoy was one of the editors of this paper during the years 1830–32.

Galena Advertiser (Galena), 1837.
Sangamon Journal (Springfield), 1836-1838.
Philanthropist (Cincinnati), July, 1837-1838.
The Liberator (Boston), July, 1837-1838.
Missouri Saturday News (St. Louis), February 3, 1838.
Cincinnati Gazette (Cincinnati), 1837-1838.
Chicago American (Chicago), 1835-1838.
Chicago Democrat (Chicago), 1837-1838.
Alton Spectator (Alton), 1836.
The Saturday Evening Chronicle (Cincinnati), 1837-1838.
The Genius of Universal Emancipation (Hennepin), 1839.
The Chicago Journal (Chicago), 1838.

GENERAL HISTORIES AND PAMPHLETS.

The Martyrdom of Lovejoy, H. Tanner, Chicago, 1881.

Sketch of Enoch Long, Harvey Reid, Chicago Historical Society Collections, No. 2.

Early Reminiscences of Alton, Lecture by Hon. Joseph Brown, delivered in the Alton Opera House on February 21, 1896.[1]

Address on Lovejoy, Thomas Dimmock, delivered on March 4, 1888, in the Church of the Unity, St. Louis.

Lovejoy, an article in the *Missouri Republic* (St. Louis), July 23, 1871.[2]

Autobiography of Col. G. T. M. Davis,[3] New York, 1891.

Alton in 1837, sketch descriptive, etc., published by S. August Mitchell, 1837.

The Rambler, Sketches and Travels in the West, 1837.

PERIOD IV.—1840–1870.

DOCUMENTARY SOURCES.

Record of Elections, 1840-1860; Document Room, Springfield.
Statutes of Illinois, 1836-1875.
House (Illinois) Journal, 1840-1870.

[1] Mr. Brown was a boy in Alton in 1837, and witnessed much of the excitement on November 6 and 7.

[2] This was compiled from data furnished chiefly by Mr. Dimmock, of St. Louis, who (it is perhaps in place here to add) was instrumental in securing the imposing monument to Lovejoy recently erected in Alton.

[3] Col. Davis was a prominent lawyer, who lived in Alton during the time of the riots of 1837.

Senate (Illinois) Journal, 1840-1870.

Journal of the Constitutional Convention, 1847, Springfield.

Journal of the Constitutional Convention, 1861, Springfield.

Journal of the Constitutional Convention, 1870, Springfield.

Debates of the Constitutional Convention, 1870, Springfield.

Constitution (Illinois), 1848.

Constitution (Illinois), 1870.

The Congressional Globe, Washington, 1833-1873.

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates, Columbus, 1860.

The Works of Abraham Lincoln.

NEWSPAPERS.

Genius of Universal Emancipation, Benjamin Lundy, Lowell, 1839 (February 26 to September 18).

Genius of Liberty, Z. Eastman and H. Warren, Lowell, December 19, 1840, to April 2, 1842.

Western Citizen, Z. Eastman, Chicago, July 26, 1842, to October 18, 1853.

The Free West, Z. Eastman, E. Goodman, and H. Warren, Chicago, December 1, 1853–July 19, 1855.

Alton Telegraph, Bailhache, Davis, and others, Alton, 1840–1870.

Alton Courier (Alton), 1853-1855.

Belleville Advocate (Belleville), 1850–1860.

Greenville Advocate (Greenville), 1858–1860.

The State Register (Springfield), 1847, 1856–1860.

Chicago American (Chicago), 1835-1842.

Chicago Journal, edited by the Wilson Brothers (Chicago), 1844–1860.

Chicago Democrat, owned by John Wentworth (Chicago), weekly, 1833–1850; daily, 1840–1850.

Western Herald (Chicago), 1846–1847.

Chicago Democratic Press (Chicago), 1852–1858.

Chicago Press and Tribune (Chicago), 1858, controlled by McGill.

Chicago Tribune (Chicago), 1848–1857, 1859-1865, 1874, June 10–13.

The Philanthropist (Cincinnati), 1836–1849.

The Liberator (Boston), 1831-1841.
The Emancipator (Boston and New York), 1834-1848.
Jersey County Democrat (Jerseyville), 1860-1865.

BIOGRAPHIES AND REMINISCENCES.

Memorial of Z. Eastman, by his Family.
Memoirs of J. M. Palmer, An Autobiography, unpublished.
Manuscript papers of Z. Eastman, unpublished; also his "scrapbook."
Dr. Charles Volney Dyer, article by Z. Eastman in Chicago Times, April 25, 1878.
Early Abolitionism, article by Z. Eastman in Chicago Inter-Ocean, September 1, 1879.
History of the Antislavery Agitation in Illinois, by Z. Eastman, in Blanchard's Illinois (old edition) pp. 655-677.
The Life, Travels, and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy, W. D. Parrish, 1847.
Account of the Antislavery Reunion at Chicago, June 10-13, 1874; Chicago Tribune, June 10-13, 1874.
Mr. Eastman's Antislavery Work, editorial in the Chicago Inter-Ocean, June 15, 1883.

GENERAL HISTORIES.

The History of the Liberty and Free Soil Parties, T. Smith, Cambridge Historical Series, VI., 1897.
Political Parties in the United States, Hopkins, Putnam, 1900.
History of the Republican Party, F. A. Flower, Springfield, 1884.
History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America, H. Wilson, Boston, 1872-1877.
History of Chicago, A. T. Andreas, Chicago, 1884-1886.
Illinois, Historical and Statistical, Moses, Vol. II. and Appendix, Chicago, 1889-1892.
History of Knox County, Chicago, 1878.
History of Williamson County, Marion, 1876.
History of La Salle County, Chicago, 1877.
History of Winnebago County, Chicago, 1877.
History of Kane County, Chicago, 1878.
History of Lake County, Chicago, 1877.

History of McLean County, Chicago, 1879.
History of Jo Daviess County, Chicago, 1878.
History of Cook County, Chicago, 1884.
History of Edgar County, Chicago, 1879.
History of Hancock County, Chicago, 1880.
History of Putnam and Marshall Counties, Lacon, 1880.
History of Peoria County, Chicago, 1890.
History of Adams County, Chicago, 1890.
Constitutional History of the United States, Von Holst, Vols. 1–7, Chicago, 1892.
Narrative and Critical History of the United States, J. Winsor, Vols. 4–8, Boston, 1887.
Twenty Years in Congress, J. G. Blaine, Vol. I., Chapters 6–10, Norwich, 1884.
Abraham Lincoln, Nicholay and Hay, New York, 1890.
Abraham Lincoln, J. T. Morse, Jr., Boston, 1893.
Herndon's Lincoln, Herndon and Weik, Chicago, 1889
American Politics, Johnston, New York, 1892.
Division and Reunion, W. Wilson, New York and London, 1898.
The Underground Railroad, W. H. Siebert, New York, 1899.
The Underground Railroad, W. H. Siebert, article in American Historical Review, April, 1896.
The Underground Railroad Records, Wm. Still.
History of My Own Life and Times, John Reynolds, 1855.
Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois, Bateman and Selby, Chicago and New York, 1900

APPENDIX II.

SPECIMEN COPIES OF SLAVE PAPERS.

1. The following *Bill of Sale* was found among the papers of Henry Eddy, lawyer, and editor of the "Illinois Gazette," and the "Illinois Emigrant," of Shawneetown, Illinois. It is now in the possession of Charles Carroll, Jr., Shawneetown, who is a near relative of Mr. Eddy. Mr. Carroll possesses several other interesting letters and papers bearing upon the subject of negro servants, which were the former property of Mr. Eddy. The Bill of Sale here given is written in fairly clear handwriting and signed by the same hand. It is attested by a Justice of Peace of Randolph County, but in the place of the seal, now so customary, there is only the word "Seal" written after each name and enclosed in a little circle. One would judge from this that bona fide seals were rare articles among the people and the Justices of Peace in Illinois in those pioneer days. The paper reads:

"Know all men by these presents that I, Hezekiah Davis, of the County of Jackson and Territory of (Illinois), have this day sold, and by these presents doth sell unto Samuel Cochran of the County of Randolph, of the Territory aforesaid, a certain negro girl named Jane, aged sixteen years, who indentured herself to me on the 26th day of August, 1816 for the term of fifty years before James Finney, Esq., Clerk of the County Court of Johnson County, for and in consideration of the sum of four hundred dollars current money of United States to me in hand paid, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged and the said Sam'l Cochran therefore discharged, and do by these presents forever warrant and defend the title of said girl unto the said Sam'l Cochran his heirs and assigns for ever against the claim of myself, my heirs, administrators, or assigns, or any person claiming under me or them or any other person legally claiming the same. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 20th day of August, 1817. (Signed) Hezekiah Davis. [Seal]

Illinois Territory }
Randolph Co. } Personally appeared before me, the subscriber, one of the Justices of the Peace in and for the County aforesaid, the aforesaid Jane and declared that she voluntarily of her own free will and accord consented to serve Samuel Cochrane for the term of forty years in lieu of the fifty years which she was to serve said Davis. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal the 20th day of August 1817.

(Signed) Mathew Duncan [Seal]

I, Samuel Cochran, of Jackson County, State of Illinois, do by these presents acknowledge to have received of William Boon 400 dollars in full for the services of the above described negro, Jane.

August 22nd 1822
(Signed) Samuel Cochran. [Seal]

2. One of the best examples of an early *Indenture* is to be found recorded in the Records and Indentures No. 1, of Madison County. It is dated March 15th, 1815, and purports to be between Jack Bonaparte (a negro) and one Joshua Vaughan. On the day mentioned, these two appeared before Josias Randle, Clerk of the County Court of Madison County, and took oath to the following agreement:

"Jack Bonaparte doth hereby agree and *freely* oblige himself to serve the said Joshua Vaughan his heirs or assigns *ninety years*, as a good and faithful servant. And the said Joshua Vaughan on his part obliges himself as long as the said Jack continues with him to Furnish the said Jack in good and wholesome food, and necessary clothing with all the other necessaries suitable for a servant." This was duly entered by the County Clerk upon the records, without signatures, but having the marginal note: "to be free in *1901*." [The italics are mine.]

3. In the Kaskaskia Republican for May 2, 1843, there appeared the following:

"Executors Sale."

"Antoine Barbeau—Executor—offers for sale the estate of the late Marie L. Blais, to wit:—

one Mulatto woman 28 years.
one Mulatto man 21 years.

two Mulatto girls 10 and 8 years.
one Mulatto boy 5 years.

"Also hogs, horses, cattle and sheep, household furniture and farming tools."

These were all to be sold at auction on June 3, 1843.

We cite this since it is the latest notice of the kind, which we have discovered. But such advertisements of executors' and sheriffs' sales were quite common from 1816 to 1826—see the "Western Intelligencer," the "Illinois Gazette," and the "Ewardsville Spectator," during that period. The executor's sale given above may also be found copied in the "Western Citizen" for July 6, 1843. Sheriffs' sales of slaves occurred as late as 1853.

4. The following letter of Ninian Edwards (Governor of Illinois and United States Senator), which is now in the possession of Mr. Chas. Carroll, Jr., of Shawneetown, is a most excellent commentary upon the methods and practices of the men who held negroes as slaves in the twenties, especially as regards the management and the value of their servants.

"Belleville, 23 June, 1829.—Sir: You gave to your agent, to whom I delivered the negroes I sold you, full authority to act for you, and promised that you would comply with any arrangement he might make with me. In consequence of which I permitted him, for reasons which you are apprised of, and approved, to take away my little servants, Nelson and Ellen, upon his explicit engagement that they should be returned to me whenever thereto required. You, yourself, gave me an assurance that they should be returned, and subsequently wrote to me what you had done with that in view, and the reasons of the failure. I have repeatedly demanded their return, and in the most unequivocal and unqualified manner, in the course of the past year, and shall hold you liable for a reasonable compensation for their services up to the receipt of this letter. If, however, you choose to keep them at the rate of $70 per annum for the hire of the boy and $50 per annum for the hire of the girl, you clothing them, paying doctor's bills and all other necessary expenses, you may keep them till I notify you to the contrary. I shall have to pay more for services which I stand in absolute need of and which they are perfectly capable of performing more to my satisfaction. Your keeping

these servants will be considered as assenting to pay me for their services according to the foregoing proposition. I will take nothing less, and therefore nothing more need be said about it. Very respectfully I am, sir, yr. mo. ob. st. (Signed.) Ninian Edwards.

Col. Wright, Equality, Ill.

5. In the Registry of Negroes and Mulattoes of St. Clair County, dating from March 26, 1846, to September 24, 1863, there is recorded an excellent specimen of the customary "Freedom Papers."

It is attested by Vital Jarrot—Justice of Peace—and William McClintock—Clerk of the County Commissioner's Court, and reads as follows,—

State of Illinois } ss. Be it remembered that on this tenth day
Co. of St. Clair } of April, A.D. 1847 before me, William McClintock, Clerk of the County Commissioner's Court within and for the said County of St. Clair and State of Illinois, personally Appeared a dark Mulattoe man, Calling himself Wilson Ross, to have his name entered of Record, together with the description of his person and evidence of his freedom, which is done as follows

viz: Evidence

Know all men by these presents that Whereas on the 29th day of October, A.D., 1841, I, Elizabeth Padfield, then living in St. Louis, and now in Illinoistown in the State of Illinois, purchased of Ebbert J. Vaughan, a negro man then a slave owing Service to said Vaughan, and Whereas as at the purchase of said slave it was my intention to liberate him as soon as he would compensate me by his labor and money for the Amount I paid for him, to wit, the sum of Eight hundred and twenty-five dollars: and Whereas the said slave whose name is Wilson Ross (commonly called Wilson, *simply*,) has now fully compensated me for the purchase money. Now Therefore in Consideration as above stated, in connection with my present husband, Abraham Padfield we hereby emancipate, liberate and set free the said Wilson Ross in as full a manner as if he had been born free. And Whereas in the course of time it may be necessary, that he should be known by certain descriptions as well as by name, we annex the following description of him. Wilson Ross is about thirty years of age, is five feet six inches and a half in height, (barefooted), is a dark mulatto and

has on his person three notable marks, one of them is on his left leg, and is two scars from the bite of a dog, resembling a shot from the calf of the leg forward towards the shin bone,—another is a scar on his right Wrist which was a cut with a knife and is about one and a half inches in length, and being transverse of the wrist immediately back of the Thumb,—and the other is a similar cut on the inside of the left wrist. Given under our hands and seals this 9th day of April A.D. 1847.

his
Abraham X Padfield [Seal]
mark

In presence of
Vital Jarrot

her
Elizabeth X Padfield [Seal]
mark

State of Illinois } ss.
St. Clair County }

I, Vital Jarrot, a Justice of the Peace in and for said County, hereby certify that Abraham Padfield and Elizabeth Padfield each of whom are personally known to me to be the same persons mentioned in the above article of emancipation, personally appeared before me, the said Wilson Ross also known to me, being also present, and acknowledged that they had executed the said article to said Wilson Ross for the purposes therein mentioned.

Given under my hand and seal this 9th day of April A.D. 1847.

Vital Jarrot [Seal]
Justice of the Peace.

Test. Wm. McClintock Clk. Co. Com. Ct. St. Clair Co.

APPENDIX III.

DATA RELATIVE TO THE CONTEST OF 1823–1824.

A. Report of the Committee on Elections in the case of the contested Election in Pike Co.

This was copied by Mr. Churchill and given to the Edwardsville Spectator for publication, at the time. It is to be found in the issue of that paper dated March 1, 1823, and also in No. 10 of Mr. Churchill's "Annotations" in the "Alton Telegraph," June 2, 1865.

It was concurred in by the House of Representatives on December 9, 1822, and reads as follows:

. . . . The first thing that presents itself to your Committee is, whether the necessary notice had been regularly made agreeable to the Status of the State in such case made and provided. This in the opinion of your Committee is the standard unto which they are directed to look as their guide, and also upon which the House is to decide.

In the paper marked A. (herewith submitted) and dated Colesgrove, Pike County, August 19, 1822, will be seen the first notice which appears to have been given in this case, but under which notice no testimony that is before your Committee appears to have been taken. In the paper marked B. (also submitted) will be seen a second notice, dated Colesgrove, Pike County, September 4, 1822, and which appears to have been served August 7, 1822. This by a comparison of the dates appears impossible, as the service must have taken place before the notice was in existence, and this your Committee deem impossible. Your Committee therefore do consider this as no notice at all, and any testimony that may have been taken under it as null and void, and deserves not the consideration of the House; and inasmuch as the law is imperative in limiting the time of service, which must not extend to a longer period than 20 days after election. The Committee

beg leave to submit for the consideration of the House the following Resolutions,—Resolved, that Mr. Hansen is entitled to his seat in the House;

Resolved that the Committee be discharged from further consideration of the subject."

B. List of members voting *for* and *against* the Convention resolution in February, 1823.

FOR:

Senators: 12.

Boon (Wm), Jackson County.
Barker Lewis), Pope County.
Beaird (Jos. A.), Monroe County.
Smith (T. W.), Madison County.
White (Leonard), White County.
Crozier (Sam.), Randolph County.
Jones of Gallatin County.
Grammer (J.), Union County.
Jones of Bond County.
Kinney (Wm.), St. Clair County.
Ladd (Milton), Johnson and Franklin Counties.
Sloo (Thos.), Jefferson and Marion Counties.

Representatives: 24.

Alexander (W. M.) of Alexander County, the Speaker of the House.
Alexander, Pope County.
Alexander, Monroe County.
Berry (Wm.), Fayette County.
Campbell, Wayne County.
Casey (Jadoc), Jefferson and Marion Counties.
Daimwood, Gallatin County.
Davenport, Gallatin County.
Dorriss (T.) Franklin County.
Field (Alex. W.), Union County.
Ford, Crawford County.
Logan (G. R.) White County.
McFatridge, Johnson County.
McFerron, Randolph County.
McIntosh (John), Union County.
Phillips (Alex.), White County.
Rattan, Green County.
Shaw (J.), Pike County.
Trotier (J.), St. Clair County.
Turney (Jas. F.), Washington County.
West (E. J.), Madison County.
Whiteside (J. A.), Pope County.
Will (C.), Jackson County.
Widen (R.), Randolph County.

AGAINST:

Senators: 6.

Bankson (A. Col.), Washington County.
Cadwell (G.), Green County.
Frazier (Robt.), Edwards County.
Kinkade (Wm.), Wayne and Lawrence Counties.
Parker (Dan.), Crawford County.
Stillman (Stephen), Sangamon County.

Representatives: 12.

Blakeman (Curtiss), Madison County.
Cairnes (Abram), Lawrence County.
Churchill (Geo.), Madison County.
Emmitt (J.), White County.
Lowry (Wm.), Clark County.
Mather (Thos.), Randolph County.
M'Gahey (David), Crawford County.
Moore (Ridson), St. Clair County.
Ogle (Jacob), St. Clair County.
Pell (G. T.), Bond County.
Sims (Jas.), Sangamon County.

C. The following is a copy of the agreement signed by the Anticonvention members on February 18, 1823, immediately after the adjournment of the Session of 1822–1823. The original was found among the papers of Curtiss Blakeman after his death (May 22, 1833), and twenty-three years afterwards it was printed in full in the "Alton Courier" (July 15, 1858), by one of his descendants. It reads:

"Copy."

"We, the subscribers, convinced of the necessity of supporting some newspaper establishment, the conductor of which will take a firm and manly stand against the introduction of slavery into this State, and against the calling of a Convention to alter the Constitution; the sole object of which we are well convinced is to effect the introduction of slavery; do hereby agree to use our utmost exertions and endeavors to support such newspaper establishment as shall be fixed upon. Henry Starr, Curtiss Blakeman & Thomas Mather Esqs. are hereby appointed a Committee to make such arrangement as they shall deem necessary with the conductor of such newspaper, ... we, the subscribers, do hereby subscribe for the number of copies of such newspapers set opposite to our respective names, at $5.00 a year, in State paper, to be paid in advance, the amount of which subscriptions shall be deposited with the above named Committee."

NAMES OF SUBSCRIBERS	NO. OF PAPERS	PLACES WHERE DIRECTED
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The above has been carried fully into effect and settled in full, by Liberty being fully established in this State & so may it remain."

Curtiss Blakeman.
(Signed)

APPENDIX IV.

TABLE OF ABOLITION VOTES 1840–1860.

OFFICE	ANTI-SLAVERY		LIBERTY PARTY				FREE SOIL		FREE DEMOCRATIC		REPUBLICAN		
	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1846	1848	1850	1852	1854	1856	1858	1860
Presidential	160				3,469		15,702		9,966		96,186		172,161
Congressional District	1			176	187	62			1	5,596	11,000	9,414	
	3	527				36			2	4,374	11,700	8,639	
	4			1,174	1,882	3,531	2,872	1,076	3	4,258	5,000	7,443	
	5			246	315	395			4	2,559	1,607	2,711	
	6			254	506	947			5				
	7			104	259	249			8	2,610			
Governor			946			5,147	4,748		8,809		111,375		172,196
Lieut. Governor			979			5,133							
Treasurer												125,828	

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